

SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL IDENTITY AS CONSTRUCTED BY BLACK AND COLOURED SOUTH AFRICANS IN SOUTH KOREA

CANDICE MICHELLE DIERGAARDT



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UNIVERSITEIT
iYUNIVESITHI
STELLENBOSCH
UNIVERSITY

Supervisor: Prof. D. Painter



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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

National identity is constantly transforming and thus never fixed, especially South African national identity. It stands to reason that as individuals we are always in constant interaction and through this interaction we construct new identities (Zegeye & Harris, 2002). Therefore, one can argue that the idea of South Africans having a unified national identity after 1994 is a complicated and sensitive concept. During the apartheid regime racism governed every facet of South Africans life's and despite the many positive changes brought about after the democratic elections of 1994, there are still remnants of racism that lingers albeit more covertly.

Many of apartheid's racialized patterns still have an influence on the identities of South Africans, especially on black and coloured identities. Most studies that have been conducted regarding race and identity concentrated on the differences between black and white relations. The relationship between coloured and black people and how they construct their national identity, especially when they are in a foreign country, is still a contentious issue that requires further research. The objective of this research that is underpinned by social constructionism, was to examine how black and coloured South African individuals understand and construct their national identity given South Africa's tumultuous past. Furthermore, how South Africa's history influences the way the story regarding identity, as well as, race are being told by coloured and black South Africans in South Korea.

The accounts of twelve black and coloured South African teachers including information from two South Korean teachers were collected. It was found that black and coloured people's identities were still thoroughly entrenched in the apartheid system, thus it affected how they constructed their national identity in South Korea. For example, both black and in particular coloured participants had a tendency to allude to the old dispensations' narrative of race when thinking about their national identity. Furthermore, even though there are many attempts in South Africa to

rectify the wrongs of the past, blackness is still constructed as somewhat inferior and in turn impacts the way black people construct their national identity to this day. The construction of both old and new racial identities continue to be a struggle for many South Africans. However, the fact that the construction of both old and new racial identities might not be that different from one another is quite troublesome.

OPSOMMING

Die idee van 'n kollektiewe nasionale identiteit in post-apartheid Suid-Afrika is 'n ingewikkelde en sensitiewe konsep. Nasionale identiteit en veral Suid-Afrikaanse nasionale identiteit is altyd in transformasie en dus nie 'n konkrete konsep nie. Volgens Zegeye en Harris (2002) is die rede hiervoor dat ons as individue altyd in konstante interaksie is met mekaar, en deur hierdie interaksie skep ons dus nuwe identiteite. Gedurende apartheid het rassisme alle aspekte van die Suid-Afrikaners se lewens beheer en ten spyte van die baie positiewe veranderinge wat teweeggebring is ná die demokratiese verkiesing van 1994, is daar nog oorblyfsels van onderliggende rassisme wat voortduur.

Apartheid beïnvloed tot vandag die identiteit van veral swart en bruin Suid-Afrikaners. Die meeste studies wat gedoen is met betrekking tot ras en identiteit, het gefokus op die verskil tussen swart en wit verhoudinge. Die verhouding tussen swart en bruin mense en hoe hulle hul nasionale identiteit konseptualiseer, veral wanneer hulle in 'n vreemde land is, is nog 'n omstrede kwessie wat vereis dat verdere navorsing noodsaaklik is. Hierdie studie wat ondersteun word deur sosiale konstruktionisme poog om te ondersoek hoe swart en bruin Suid-Afrikaanse individue hul nasionale identiteit verstaan en ervaar, gegewe Suid-Afrika se onstuimige verlede. Verder, hoe Suid-Afrika se geskiedenis 'n rol speel in hoe die storie van ras en identiteit vertel word deur swart en bruin mense as 'n minderheid in Suid-Korea.

Onderhoude was gevoer met twaalf swart en bruin Suid-Afrikaanse onderwysers, asook twee Suid-Koreaanse onderwysers. Die studie het bevind dat swart en bruin mense se identiteit steeds diep gewortel is in die Suid-Afrikaanse politiek van onderdrukking, aldus beïnvloed dit hoe hulle hul nasionale identiteit in Suid-Korea uitbeeld. Byvoorbeeld, hoe beide swart en in die besonder kleurling deelnemers terugverwys na die meester apartheidsverhaal van ras wanneer hulle nadink oor hul nasionale identiteit. Verder, selfs al is daar baie pogings in Suid-Afrika aangewend om die

verkeerd van die verlede reg te stel, word ‘swart’ steeds beskou as ietwat minderwaardig en op die manier beïnvloed dit die wyse waarop swart mense tot op vandag toe hul nasionale identiteit konstrueer. Die konstruksie van beide ou en nuwe rasse identiteite bly steeds 'n stryd vir baie Suid-Afrikaners. En wat kommerwekkend is, is die moontlikheid dat hierdie konstruksies van identiteite nie so veel van mekaar verskil nie.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

It is not what you call me but what I answer to.

- African Proverb

Finding myself within this study

Qualitative strategy of inquiry has been fundamental with regard to studying human life (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 2). There have been many arguments with regard to the researcher's personal bias and concerns and how it affects the outcome of social science research (Tolman & Brydon-Miller, 2001). Zina O' Leary (2004, p. 47) writes that "researchers are value-bound – and given that social science research involves analysis set within particular value systems, the ability to be objective is problematic if not impossible". The reason for this is that the researcher in particular is positioned in quite a central role within the qualitative research design (Holt, 2003). For example, the importance of the researcher is brought to the forefront when he or she conducts research of a sensitive nature of which race would be a prime example. Furthermore, traditional views where the researcher detaches herself from her findings, in other words where her voice is being silenced, are challenged (Holt, 2003; Tolman & Brydon-Miller, 2001). The subjectivity of the researcher is regarded as having an unavoidable influence on the origin of the research, as well as, the process and end result (Bhavnani & Haraway, 1994; Bryan & Aymer, 1996). Therefore, being conscious of this unavoidable influence helps the researcher to be aware of inappropriate favoritism that might direct processes to the advantage of the researchers needs. Due to the centrality of the researcher it is important that I provide a reason for my interest in this particular research topic.

It is imperative the reader be cognizant of the fact that I am not only the researcher, but can be considered as one of the participants. I am classified as a coloured South African female born 1984 in Worcester. The general consensus during the apartheid years was that when you were born into

colour, it meant that you were born into politics (Biko, 2004). I truly became aware of racial differences at the tender age of seven, when I was one of the first coloured students ‘allowed’ to attend a Model C school in Worcester. To clarify, in those days Model C schools were only meant for white students and students of colour were forbidden to attend. Furthermore, it was common knowledge during the apartheid years that Model C schools had a far more superior curriculum. Therefore, when the Model C school opened its door to ‘allow’ people of colour to attend, my parents decided it best to enroll me in the school. However, it is very important that one does not confuse diversity with integration, because even though as a person of colour I was ‘allowed’ to attend the primary school I still faced discrimination. I am quite intuitive and even though I was only seven I could immediately sense that I was treated differently, not only by my peers but teachers as well. The subtle forms of racism I was subjected to made me aware that I was considered inferior compared to my white peers, and for a young child that was a strange and uncomfortable situation to be in.

It is human nature to harbor ill feelings towards those who oppress you, and as such I exhibited the exact same behaviors as that of my white peers. For a couple of years, all during my primary school and high school years to be precise, I only associated with coloured people and rejected any interaction where necessary with those I considered to be the ‘other’. I was civil towards them because I had to be and not because I wanted to be. Therefore, one could argue that in essence I ‘othered’ the ‘other’. My mindset began to change when I attended the University of Stellenbosch and was placed in Nerina Dames Koshuis because I was forced to interact on a more personal level with those that I considered the ‘other’, and it was because of those interactions that I started being more open towards establishing friendships. I began to realize that there is an unspoken racism, the one people do not talk about. The internal instinctive racist within in us all. That was a pivotal point in my life, as it was then that my interest in race related issues began to cultivate. I took a

particularly keen interest in social psychology and the influence social pressures can have on identity, because like so many people at one point or another in their lives, I too began to grapple with my identity. The fact that I am classified a coloured person, with the coloured identity already a controversial identity within itself in a country fixated with race, only intensified the sense of urgency to define my identity. Who am I? This simple question loaded with so much meaning, yet minimized by a sense of simplicity intrigued me. I am Candice classified as a coloured South African female, but does my name and the colour of my skin really define who I am as a person?

Forward to February 2009, after graduating with honours in psychology I decided to embark on a new journey to teach English in South Korea. Family members and friends wondered why South Korea and I was asked on several occasions what prompted this decision. Many people go to South Korea for various reasons, whether it be that they feel stifled at their current jobs and want to explore other options, or they have just finished university and do not have an idea of what to do next. I personally wanted to embark on this journey to experience a new culture, but also because I was curious to find out whether I would be able to adapt in homogenous South Korea when I am so used to the familiarity of diversity. Furthermore, to uncover whether it would be possible for me to ‘escape’ my racial identity and just be South African, or whether my race would still essentially define me in Korea. That is, am I a South African first or does my race take precedence?

De la Rey and Boonzaaier (2002) writes that the majority of studies conducted with regard to race and identity have focused on black and white differences. However, this thesis explores the complicated nature of South African national identities, specifically focusing on black and coloured identities, affected by both a history of racism and being out of the country. Therefore, it is important to give a very brief insight into South Korea’s nationalism as well, in order to give the reader an understanding of why I became interested in this particular topic. As mentioned previously, Korea is still considered as one of the most homogeneous countries in the world.

Racism in Korea is very different and the main reason for that difference is because of Nationalism. “Nationalism is a natural reaction of conquered nations” (Noor & Ki-Soo, 2012, p. 308). Shin (2006) stated that during the Japanese Colonial rule when the Japanese government tried to overthrow the Korean nation into being submissive in an attempt to take away their national identity, Koreans developed a form of nationalism based on the idea of a homogeneous pure-blooded race. This kind of mentality is still alive today and is widely regarded as the root of all prejudice in Korea.

According to Lee, Jun and Ryu (2012), “Seemingly ignorant of what constitutes racism or discrimination, some Koreans utter racist remarks or engage in racist behavior. Apparently they don’t realize what they are ignorant about and this ignorance becomes the seed of their racism”. They suggest that the reason for the Korean nation not truly becoming a multicultural society is because of a lack of anti-racism laws. According to Lee-san (quoted in Lee, Jun & Ryu, 2012), “Korean people obviously prefer white-skinned people who speak English over those with darker skin”. One can thus argue that what makes Korea unique, mainly due to its strong cultural hegemony, is that stereotypes are more uniformly shared across the vast majority of Koreans.

I did extensive research with regard to working in Korea before I applied for a position as a native English teacher, and what I found was that rules for foreigners working in Korea were quite demanding. You do not need to have a teaching degree, but more often than not it is important to have TEFL (Teaching English as a Foreign Language certificate). Furthermore, it is important that you secured a job in advance and obtained a police clearance certificate from your country. The Korean government also required sealed academic records and medical clearance certificates. Into a month of being employed foreigners are mandated to undergo a full medical checkup before they are able to receive an Alien Registration Card (ARC). I looked online for reputable recruiters and made sure that I read up on the reviews before I chose my recruiter. After a successful interview and obtaining all the relevant documents, I left South Africa on the 17th of February 2009 for South

Korea.

Upon arrival I was placed in a rural area called Gamgok-myeon located in Eumseong County, about an hour and a half away from Seoul which is Korea's capital city. I experienced quite a culture shock and I have to admit it was difficult to adjust at first. I had to get accustomed to Korean food, the language barrier that at times led to miscommunication and difficulties in obtaining accurate information, and also just the general cultural aspects that is typical of Asian nations. As a foreigner you are constantly 'othered', because people would stare at you and children will shout 'hello!' from across the street. The attention that you receive as a foreigner can be nice, but even though your life can be one of privilege it can also be one of having no voice. For example, being the 'other' means that you are a 'guest' and you will never truly fit into Korean culture. The irony is not lost on me because I know that as a foreigner I do not fit into Korean culture, and as a coloured South African I feel that my community always have to justify our "South Africaness" in a country we are supposed to call home. Despite the initial culture shock what I learned in Korea was that it is important that one learn to embrace the cultural differences.

Chungbuk Office of Education requested that I teach at three schools, which is not uncommon in Korea because of government cutbacks. I was also informed that I would be the first foreigner to teach at the three respective schools in that county. Korean people in general are very hardworking people and most teachers, with the exception of foreigners, have to work till 21:00 pm. Native English teachers work from 08:30 am to 16:30 pm (sometimes foreigners will work until 17:30 pm, because of extra classes which they get compensation for) with an hour lunch break. As a native English teacher you are generally required to run a two week camp during summer vacation, and a two week camp during winter vacation. High school students stay at school until 21:00 pm doing 'self-study' and after that many will go to private academies. Therefore, many students only get home around 23:00 pm or 00:00 am at the latest. The Korean people's hardworking ethic can be

attributed to their strong sense of nationalistic pride, which is arguably one of the strongest in the world.

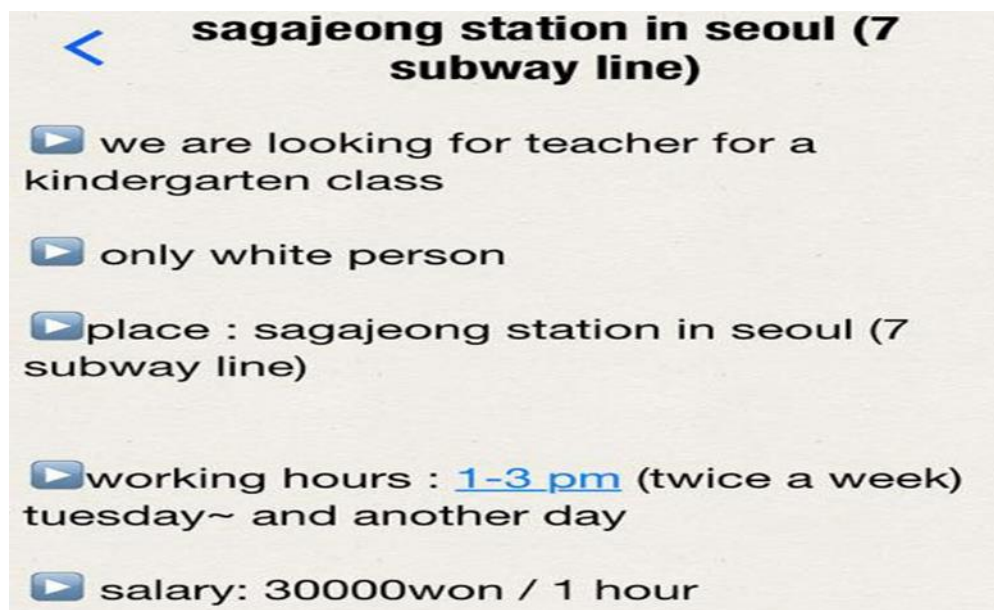


Figure 1: Gamgok Boys Middle School: Students, co-teacher and I

It was the first time some of the staff and students in Gamgok-myeon had the opportunity to interact with a foreigner. I made a presentation on South Africa as introduction to my classes, which included pictures of all the various races that make up our diverse country. The students were very intrigued and the presentation was met with a lot of ‘oohs and aahs’. Their reactions were not surprising because as mentioned previously, the notion of a ‘one-blood race’ is at the root of Korean identity and nationalism. Some Koreans often asked about racism in South Africa, and when I told them about apartheid and the atrocities committed against people of colour they would look at me in complete disbelief. I found my Korean friends and colleagues’ reactions with regard to racism in South Africa quite amusing because like South Africans, Koreans can also be very racist in their thoughts as well as by their actions. Even though Koreans are generally very friendly and

approachable, at times it was a little superficial. The reality is that Koreans in general are still very conservative and intolerant of outsiders or foreigners.

From a personal perspective I find that racism is easier to spot in South Korea than in South Africa, because in South Africa racism is based on genuine hatred and prejudice and is hidden under the 'mask' of the rainbow nation. As South Africans we try to promote this romanticized idea of tolerance and acceptance of all races, when in actuality not everyone (referring to coloured people) are acknowledged, or even made to feel equally included as part of the country. However, I find that in South Korea a blatant 'slap in the face' form of racism exists. For example, in 2015 the advertisement below was posted which is just one of the many examples of blatant racist behavior in South Korea.



Every year thousands of hopeful applicants apply for potential teaching jobs in Korea. For most of the applicants the racism starts before they even get their foot in the door, due to the standard practices of the South Korean education system that requires applicants to submit photos alongside their resumes. My co-teacher at my main school confided in me that when the teachers at school were told that I was from South Africa, they were unhappy because they did not want to work with

a “black person”. Apparently the teachers at my main school did not see my photo prior to arrival, because the Office of Education deals with the application process. However, upon my arrival at school the teachers were supposedly pleasantly surprised that I was not black.

Koreans could also not grasp the concept of ‘colouredness’, because the fact that they are able to trace their ‘pure’ bloodlines and family trees back hundreds upon hundreds of years are a source of pride for them. Korean people in general are very blunt and I was asked with which race (referring to black or white) I identified the most in South Africa, and whether ‘coloured’ could even be considered a race. For me that was quite an interesting question, because as South Africans we are able to easily classify one another as Black, Coloured, White and Indian, despite often complicated lineages. I sometimes think that as South Africans our discriminatory skills are so subtle, that Barack Obama would not pass as a coloured he would be considered biracial! For many outsiders this is quite puzzling, which is a clear example of the destructive result of racism’s history.

Another example of racism that occurred happened to one of my friends (who happens to be coloured, but because her skin tone is very dark one might think she is a black individual), who had students pulled from her class and placed in a Caucasian teacher’s class because the parents requested that the child be taught by a white teacher. One of my middle school students laid out the logic to me, “Korean students like white teachers more because they have better pronunciation”. Even though pluralism has started to gain entry into the peninsula most of Korea is still without diversity, in other words xenophobia is still very much present, particularly with the older generations who are accustomed to ‘their way of living’. It could be argued that any stereotype that one encounters are merely based on ignorance and can’t always be taken at face value for hatred. Having lived in Korea for over seven years I came to the realization that it is not always the employers (including the parents’) intention to discriminate, sometimes it just comes down to the fact that they have a preconceived notion as to what a native speaker should look like.

It is important that I mention though that there are a lot of Koreans that have an open mind, and that treat foreigners regardless of race with kindness and respect. In 2011 I moved to a bigger city in Chungbuk Province called Cheongju. There I had the privilege of teaching at one such school, Chungbuk Girls Middle School, for four consecutive years. The teachers, as well as students, were eager to learn about South Africa and therefore I arranged a Skype session every month on a Friday with my friends back home. My intention with the skype sessions were that they learn more about our diverse country, and not just be influenced by what they see on television. Koreans have a preconceived notion of black people based on the movies they watch, especially American movies, where black people are depicted as penniless and white people depicted as wealthy and elitist.



Figure 2: Colleagues, Family and I

Over the years I discovered that an interesting and weird dilemma was created in Korea, where whenever I saw a foreigner I had this urge to make eye contact, nod, and yes even go up to them and speak (something I would never even consider doing in South Africa!). Furthermore, I also

discovered that black and coloured South Africans seem to have formed a closer bond in Korea, due to similar experiences and despite racial differences. Maybe it is the pull towards home that brings us all together, because in Korea race definitely does not come into play when forming friendships with fellow South Africans but rather the similar experiences one share. In a sea of oriental faces you are drawn to anyone that is different, and thus when you meet a fellow South African you feel a sense of familiarity despite the colour of their skin. The feeling is that even though one do not share the same ancestry, we do share a familiar lifestyle (for example braai) and the idea of ubuntu. As South Africans we are fixated with race as mentioned before, therefore I am not oblivious to the fact that racism's motive is to reduce people's understanding that we are all equal because we are all human. However, what I am certain of is the fact that friendships are a choice. Thus, your experiences of friendships depends on the people that you meet regardless of their race.



Figure 3: South African Braai

Whenever I visited South Africa during summer vacation, I felt that I immediately ‘stepped into racism’. My guard automatically went up and regardless of the bond we formed as South Africans

(especially black and coloured South Africans) in South Korea, the notion of having a collective South African national identity became a myth. I am considered South African because it is my nationality, however in South Africa I feel that I ‘become my race’. I began to wonder to what extent black and coloured South Africans truly felt a sense of a collective national identity in South Korea because of similar experiences, and if so how their story is affected by South Africa’s tainted past.

I realized that as a foreigner in South Korea, especially being a person of colour, I’m free from trying to be normal. In South Korea I will always be the ‘other’ not ‘normal’. The novelty of my skin and the texture of my hair is just that, a novelty, whereas in South Africa being a black or coloured individual is loaded with negativity because of our history. Thus, outside of South Africa I am just a brown person with a South African passport. As a person of colour in South Africa, one feels the pressure of having to carry the burden of accountability for one’s cultural group. For example, the media tends to represent coloured people in two extremes. First in a comical way where we are portrayed as having no front teeth, and the stereotypical Cape Coloured accent are extremely overemphasized. Furthermore, in the second extreme were we are portrayed as vicious gangsters that have a hunger for killing innocent people. What is troublesome though is that we tend to play on these stereotypes, because we laugh and seem to enjoy it. That is also probably one of the reasons why Leon Schuster is still one of the most successful movie producers in South Africa. Even though some people would say that it is good to have a sense of humor about this, the problem with it is that we are actually perpetuating these kinds of behaviours.

From my perspective, in post-apartheid South Africa colouredness still remains a very misunderstood and even rejected racial concept, and one that needs to be made clear. The fact that coloured people are often times regarded as the outcast because of their in-between status in South Africa, suggests that coloured people have always operated as a distinct fragment of the black

experience, separated from “Africans” by culture, history and language. Thus, from personal experience I find that many coloured people because of the way they feel they are now being discriminated against by the black African majority, deliberately choose to define themselves in every respect (that is racially and politically) as coloured. The reason for this is so that colouredness can function as a homogenous racial and social body that aids as a means of self-protection. Therefore, even though racism does exist in South Korea I feel more comfortable in Korea than back home, because South Africa is still very much racially divided. Yes, being coloured or black is considered an undesirable race in South Korea, however my nationality trumps my skin colour and I am free to just be ‘South African’.



Figure 4: Mom and Korean waiters. Two cultures one love

South Africa is considered the rainbow nation, essentially because of its diverse groupings of people. However, from many coloured people’s perspective including myself, it still feels like the idea of the rainbow nation only represents two voices, which is that of the white and black people. When political issues of race arises only two perspectives are always brought to the forefront, which again

is that of the underprivileged black people and the over privileged white people. Thus, I find that many coloured people 23 years into democracy still feel that they do not benefit equally from policies that were implemented to remedy past injustices. The sad reality is that we are not all simply South Africans, we are particular South Africans who unfortunately cannot escape the differences that colour our experiences. Therefore, I came to the realization that I will unfortunately always “see” race.

Despite the many positive changes that came about after 1994, South Africans still experience the damaging aftermath of apartheid in their daily lives and also the major impact it has on how they construct their identities (Gillborn, 2005; Sonn, 2006). It is surprising that many coloured and black people do not openly discuss their internalized experiences, maybe it is because we do not speak of that which is painful. However, I am a firm believer in the saying “You cannot change what you can’t acknowledge”. Therefore, in this study I hope to expose reasons as to why the construction of black and coloured national identity have always been an ethical field, even to this day.

Research exercise: Auto-ethnography and reflexivity

This thesis deals with issues that are of personal importance to me, as I can closely relate with participants in the study. According to Holt (2003), understanding the researcher’s position within the research gives the reader a framework to evaluate the end result that pertains to the research. Holt (2003) further asserts that it is easier to evaluate the researcher’s position when it is known, than when it is hidden under a mask of objectivity. Auto-ethnographic accounts, as well as the position of the researcher, are considered important resources with regard to understanding the various perspectives that contribute to the research project.

A few of the researchers that works with post-modern traditions argues that the reason for some of the criticisms that are directed towards the qualitative design, which includes auto-ethnographic

accounts, is because qualitative design is being compared to traditional designs (Clarke, 2004; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). The criticism against auto-ethnography in that it is tainted by the subjectivity of the researcher, as well as borders on self-indulgence, problematizes the very nature of auto-ethnography as a sub-genre of qualitative design. However, researchers who favours auto-ethnography argue that because people do not acquire knowledge in a vacuum, auto-ethnography is not by definition restricted to the self (Holt, 2003, p. 16).

Personal narratives of people's lived experience as a means of gaining knowledge, represents a drastic change from the usual way of data gathering by the quantitative methodology. Richardson (quoted in Holt, 2003, p. 12) considers five important criteria when she inspects an individual's story:

- (a) Substantive contribution. Does the piece contribute to our understanding of social life?
- (b) Aesthetic merit. Does this piece succeed aesthetically? Is the text artistically shaped, satisfyingly complex, and not boring?
- (c) Reflexivity. How did the author come to write this text? How has the author's subjectivity been both a producer and a product of this text?
- (d) Impact fullness. Does this affect me emotionally and/or intellectually? Does it generate new questions or move me to action?
- (e) Express a reality. Does this text embody a fleshed out sense of lived experience?

Bear in mind the researcher is an important resource when it comes to explaining the complex character of the research. Best (2003) argues that exposing the researcher, meaning his or her identity, is imperative as it accepts and receives the political characteristics of the research. Situations has occurred where when the subjectivity of the researcher was hidden with regard to the research result, it led to the researcher 'owning' the research. Generally, the public and participants did not have a way of obtaining any details regarding the researcher, which is nowadays considered to be of utmost importance with regard to understanding and excluding research preference.

In conclusion, it is important to mention that even though I am very enthusiastic about this topic, I fully grasp the fact that it is important to be conscious of my own subjectivity from the beginning until the end of this process. Below follows a very short synopsis that forms the body of this thesis:

Chapter 2 begins with a glimpse into South African national identity, followed by a discussion of race and identity as a social construct. Furthermore, it also includes a look into coloured and black identity construction respectively. This chapter concludes with reflections on the dynamics between coloured and black people post-apartheid.

Chapter 3 provides a summary of this study's theoretical framework, which is underpinned by a social constructivist approach.

Chapter 4 provides a discussion on the methodology detailing the research framework, aims, sample, analysis, validity, reflexivity and ethical considerations.

Chapter 5 reports on the findings. It focuses on understanding how black and coloured individuals construct their national identity by means of narratives, and how their identity is affected given the controversial history of South Africa.

Chapter 6 will give a short summary of concluding remarks.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

A brief glimpse into South African national identity pre-and post-democratic South

Africa

The national identity of a country is imperative as it creates a feeling of solidarity amongst its inhabitants. National identity usually refers to politics, language, culture, traditions and history, which creates the picture of the nation as a unit. The nationalism that characterized the apartheid era was for the most part based on Afrikanerism. There was a ‘Christian national’ rebirth of Afrikaner nationalist ideology in the 1930s and 1940s, because of disputes that occurred in the Afrikaner intellectual and political communities. The core of this nationalist image was based on the idea that *volksgebondenheid* came first. *Volksgebondenheid* was the conviction that the individual only exists in and through the nation, and that ties of blood and state was priority. Therefore, South Africa had to be protected from British cultural and economic imperialism, as well as black people, because South Africa was perceived as only belonging to the white population. The Afrikaner philosophy were integrated into government policies and was carried out by the National party in 1948 (O’Meara, 1996, p. 41).

From 1948 to 1994 apartheid guided all aspects of the South African people’s lives, in particular race relations. Dinges, the National Party’s minister (quoted in Liebenberg & Spies, 1994, p. 323) claimed that the purpose of apartheid was to “bring about conditions most favourable for inter-racial harmony”, and to avert any feelings of inferiority that black people might experience by creating separate social environments in which “each population group could develop its ambitions and capabilities to the fullest”. According to Zegeye and Harris (2002, p. 251), during the apartheid era black people were in a sense forced to identify themselves within their population group and not as South Africans. However, when thinking of racial identity one equates it to how you see yourself and your position in society. Therefore, people that have been oppressed internalizes the negativity

for example that they are inferior, a burden to society or even subhuman (Padilla, 2001). In addition, Fanon (quoted in Azu-Okeke, 2003) writes that “the colonized man is enslaved by his feelings of inferiority because of the colonization of his psyche and the transplantation of ideas and images into it, which impresses on him that he is inferior to the white colonialist”. Black South Africans in particular have continued to struggle under the labels which was bestowed upon them by white South Africans (Padilla, 2001). According to Treacher (2005), apartheid still has a very serious stronghold over people’s lived experience and apartheid’s legacy dictates how subjectivity is perceived. Colonialism and consequently apartheid played a major role in South Africa’s political history. Both political systems are thus accountable for the unjust deeds committed against people of colour, and indirectly for the confusion regarding whether South Africans can truly have an all-inclusive national identity post-apartheid.

Prior to the 1994 democratic elections, Barber (1994, p. 70) was already questioning the identity South Africa would have. Barber wondered whether a post-apartheid society would be able to give the necessary environment to build a strong identity, or whether a single predominant identity would materialize. After the apartheid era, the country was confronted with a new perception of national identity and nationalism. Billig (1995) writes that the narrative with regard to South African national identity had to be revised entirely after apartheid ended. One can therefore argue that the concept of national identity is one of controversy, because it is haunted by the country’s tumultuous past. Nowadays, people in South Africa have come to accept the fact that they have the freedom to basically construct their own identity. One could perhaps argue that the new dispensation might have evoked a sense of loss and confusion for many South Africans, because even though apartheid was atrocious, sometimes it is better to deal with the devil you know than the devil you don’t. Marris (quoted in Jansen, 2009, p. 47) writes that the feelings of loss and confusion is made difficult in our understanding to process it if:

...the meaning of what has been lost was never satisfactorily resolved. Its ambiguities our ambivalence toward it, complicate the task of reconstituting the enduring meaning of the lost relationship for the future. There may, for instance, be a residue of conflict and anger which cannot be worked out in a living relationship. Trying to deal with that conflict retrospectively may make it harder to work out what sense to make of the future.

According to Milton (2009, p. 560), “The question constantly arises about what it means to be a South African in the ‘new’ South Africa and whether you’re a South African first and then ‘black/white/coloured/Indian’ or vice versa”.

Due to the social discrepancy in South Africa it is not easy to establish a shared South African identity (Buhlungu, 2007, p. 91). One can therefore argue that people are trying to establish their social roles in a country that once dictated their way of life, and forced an identity that may have been unwanted upon them. From the above mentioned, it is evident that constructing a concrete South African national identity that would satisfy all citizens are complicated. What is undisputable is that in South Africa’s case questions of national identity are complicated at best, not least given South Africa’s history of apartheid which by definition was based on the argument of difference.

The impact of race: A social construct

Foster (1993b) asserted that many people would claim that they do not know what race is. Others, according to Winant (2000), would argue that the notion of race has various meanings for various people. On the other hand, Alexander (quoted in MacDonald, 2006) argue that ‘race’ does not exist. However, Winant (2000) claims that no other construct is as controversial as, or more central for that matter, than race. According to Foster (1992), there is no scientific basis with regard to race. Andreasen (2000) writes that biological realism was the foremost opinion during the 19th and 20th century, which supported the idea that race was a biologically objective category. In other words, race was considered separate of human categorizing activities. However, Miles (1989) argued that racial classification does not equate in any material way to hereditary variations among different individuals, or groups for that matter. Miles (1989) argues that social importance is instead

connected to particular biological and abnormal human features through a process of racialization, assuming that persons exhibiting the indicated characteristics be labelled as a specific collective.

For that reason Scott and Marshall (2005) argues that race represents the socially constructed divide between social groups, and that the notion of racial classification implies a pecking order that can be seen as racist. The fact that racism is still prevalent in South Africa complicates matters even further. The word racism is hard to define and has various meanings, and thus it has the ability to evoke a multitude of emotions in South Africa. To give a concrete definition of racism is very difficult. According to Kundnani (2007, p. 10):

Racism is also about the society as a whole and the relations between different societies, their structures and their processes and the power relationship they embody – the ways in which some groups of people profit from the systematic exclusion and subordination of other groups...

Marshall and Scott (2005) argues that in essence racism is the unequal treatment of the *other*.

As mentioned above, racism is a difficult construct that is always changing and thus there is no definitive definition for racism. Duncan, van Niekerk, de la Rey and Seedat (2001) asserts that there are however some features of racism that have remained constant over time. One of which, that it is set in stone that racism is bound by the notion that race is a common biological experience. Furthermore, that racism tries to validate the oppression of specific races and that despite the constructedness of race, the damaging effects of racism can be felt by all those under its gaze. Cooper (2008) for example stated that during apartheid the notion of ‘race’ was accepted as the ultimate truth, even though there were evidence that suggested that race was constructed to validate racial oppression. Therefore, it is argued that while racism is detrimental to the oppressed it simultaneously benefits the racists.

The fact that race is socially constructed is of utmost importance, because it is due to the consistent result of certain situations whether it be, political, cultural or historical situations. The purpose of

social constructionism is to undermine ideas such as the afore-mentioned, by indicating that the meaning as well as the rules pertaining to participants are ever changing and thus frequently taken for granted (Henwood & Pidgeon, 2003). Freedman and Combs (1996) writes that social constructionism is of the viewpoint that the social categories it constructs, as well as the knowledge that it constructs, are always shifting and in turn also fragmented.

During apartheid race was perceived to be the absolute truth, even though there were evidence suggesting that race was a category that was constructed socially in order to enforce racialized injustice. Therefore, one can argue that apartheid constructed and hardened racial identities to such an extent that many to this day treat South Africa's racial categories as if it is fixed (Picca & Feagin, 2007). The idea of race was to support white supremacy that encouraged inequality, which unfortunately was also accepted by many as the norm. Race in many regards was actually a very rigid construct, giving the individual little to differ from the roles the Nationalist government prescribed (Lopez, 2000; Scott and Marshall, 2005).

Today racialized realities have virtually been undermined and widely accepted as a strong social construct that is always changing, and able to influence social relations and configurations of personhood. Thus, race are now seen as products of various contexts and perspectives. Race is no longer perceived as a sign of any significant variations separating people. Furthermore, race is not considered to be the permanent mark of a person's bloodline or other biological marker for that matter. Race is now recognized as an idea that is constructed socially and which is noticeable by its variations, the fact that it is fluid, its contingency and subjectivity. By means of discursive exercises, race a social construct is brought to life and is only real because it is experienced as such (Henwood & Pidgeon, 2003; Mir & Watson, 2000; White, 2000).

Even though whiteness and blackness as racial categories are non-existent as valid biological

features, they still have a very real disturbing impact. Differences such as blackness is measured against the somewhat dominant and normative space of whiteness. Thus, whiteness are often times perceived as a viewpoint from which the self and others are understood. Blackness on the other hand, are perceived to be the opposite of whiteness, in other words being black meant being inferior (Garner, 2007; Mir & Watson, 2000).

Regardless of how blackness and whiteness are constructed, society as a whole are still deeply influenced by the constructions. Despite the fact that social categories are the result of social creations and construction, the probability for it to be recognized as impartial social facts is a given. Should groups or individuals come to embrace and internalize constructs, it could lead to them not being able to protest against or change them should they wish to do so. Therefore, blackness and whiteness as social categories are usually adopted and perceived as being the norm (Garner, 2007; Mir & Watson, 2000).

According to Durrheim and Dixon (2001), despite the fact that overt racism are becoming less common because of the fact that is extremely offensive, there are new forms of covert racism that are starting to rear its ugly head. Covert racism is disguised in a socially acceptable argument. An example of covert racism is that of symbolic racism, where the racist is being deceptive by advocating racial equality when in reality he or she is against equality. On the other hand aversive racism, according to Durrheim and Dixon (2001), is a more subtle form of racism. Even though individuals have strong beliefs in the equality of people they come to subconsciously harbor racist feelings towards others that they are incognizant of.

Essed (quoted in Mtosi, 2011) claims that people are socialized into a system of oppression, whether it is consciously or unconsciously, and in so doing inequalities are maintained. According to Essed (2002), racism exist when the dominant group holds power over the inferior group by

remaining as a whole and maintaining the distinction between “us” and “them”. As mentioned previously, Scott and Marshall (2005) postulated that racism is the discriminatory behavior towards the *other*. They claimed that because the physical and biological differences of the different races are unchallenged it strengthens the idea of a racial hierarchy. Bhui (2002, p. 21) asserts that when one is afraid of voicing one’s opinion with regard to race, it includes the apprehension of being too vocal or revealing one’s own bigotry to the public. The perception of race, particularly in democratic South Africa, conjures up negative images of the past. Several South Africans still harbor resentment because of the injustices they experienced, but also because of the accusation in that they might have played a role in the injustices that occurred (Alexander, 2001; Duncan, Stevens, & Bowman, 2004).

Therefore, it can be argued that the discourses one uses when it comes to a very touchy subject such as race, might appease a few but not everyone. For example, if some people speak out about race related issues they get accused of playing the ‘victim card’ and the marginalization becomes invisible. Likewise, not bringing up the subject of race might be insulting to a few people of all races. Furthermore, one can argue that because the concept of race is so complex it may be interpreted as having an immobilizing effect due to the fact that it is sometimes challenging to move forward without experiencing some form of adverse reaction.

The impact of identity: A social construct

The concept of identity in social theory has undergone much change. Identity just like race is also a social construct, in other words the result of human thinking. It stands to reason that identity gives the individual a sense of self and of belonging. Historically it has been argued that identity is a relatively stable subject. However, Bauman (2001) argues that since stable ascribed groups can no longer be taken as a given and hence there is no anchoring of identity in family, workplace or

community anymore, it stands to reason that people have to create their own identities. Therefore, it is argued that identities are individualized. In addition, people have always assumed that their identity is constant in an ever changing world (Scott & Marshall, 2005). Identity in many ways have become a structure as to how we understand who we are as individuals, in that it provides a sense of purpose and direction through commitments, values and goals (Driedger, 2003; Meyer & Viljoen, 2003). To define identity as a given, one ignores the fact that identity can be formed through continuous interactions. Louw–Potgieter (1992) writes that identification is not an isolated social process that takes place within a person’s subconscious. As people we not only ‘identify’, but rather identify with someone or for that matter something. The individual also transforms, as social groups may strongly try to make sure identification takes place, and thus the development of association is also a complicated and controversial one. Therefore, Nash (2008) writes that an inborn self does not exist and that instead we create ourselves through interactions with others. Furthermore, that we can have various identities at any given time that range from racial or social identity to individual identity. In addition, Hall (1996, p. 4) writes that identity is in actual fact a process of ‘becoming’:

Identities are about the questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in a process of becoming rather than being: not ‘who we are’ or ‘where we come from’, as much as what we might become how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves. Identities are therefore constructed within not outside representation.

As humans we are able to know our standing in society by means of social categories, thus we distinguish between ‘us’ and ‘them’. Therefore, being part of a group plays a major role in an individuals’ self-worth (de la Rey, 1992). The idea of Fanon that one establishes one’s identity by means of a gaze, is clearly echoed in the previous statement. One can therefore argue that identity does not exist without the ‘other’. Furthermore, Hall (1989) focuses on the fact that identity is forever changing and thus temporary.

During apartheid racialized identities were basically forced upon people without it being chosen. In

addition, one's race defined your identity. A shared social identity amongst blacks was actively developed during political activism, as they shared common experiences. Thus, one's identity was dependent on one's race (Adams & Marshall, 1996; Howard, 2000). However, some South Africans especially the older generation can't truly relate to the new status quo post-apartheid, due to the fact that the status quo in some aspects have been rattled by the socio-political changes. Furthermore, during apartheid identities were formed somewhat separately from other racial groups and now it is being created through regular conversations and disputes with the 'other'. Democratic South Africa is still racially divided influencing the people of South Africa's lives in a major way (Steyn, 2001).

Class has become an important attribute of identity, while South Africans are adjusting to the sociocultural and political changes. Therefore, should the focus solely be directed towards a certain part of identity the possibility that the complexity of human identity be overlooked is relatively high (Davis, 2008).

The construction of race and racialized identity pre-and post-apartheid

Taylor (2007) writes that what we understand of ourselves and other's identities are a result of networking. In order to understand the world we draw on narratives. Through narratives individuals have control over their identities. According to Schriffen (1996), narratives adds to the development of our sense of self. Hyden and Overlien (2004) stated that narratives in general refer to a specific sort of text which is organized around important events in the teller's life. According to Thomas (2001), it has been argued by many that one's understanding with regard to the meaning of the event, be it from the past or the present, depends on the understanding to construct a story. For example, life is unpredictable and it does not reveal itself in stories. It is the stories that enable us to recognize that human experiences are meaningful (Jaworski & Coupland, 1999).

The way we tell our stories, the essence of our accounts and the form of our accounts, are all

indicators of our cultural and social identities including our personal selves (Schriffen, 1996). Thomas (2001) argues that because narratives are connected to social discourses, as well as power relations, it is the reason narratives are always changing. Furthermore, narratives are formed by the collective consciousness, as well as the speaker's position in society. Narratives are mainly passed on through conversations that we have with one another. Language plays a pivotal part with regard to how we define ourselves, as well as the positions we occupy. In addition to that, we interact with our peers by means of language. The conversations one have can thus also be perceived as a standard means of communicating, in that it manages as well as strengthens response and in so doing wields power (Burman, Kottler, Levett & Parker, 1997; van Dijk, 2001).

Duncan (2001) writes that the aim of analyzing the discourses and stories which they form, is to argue the manner in which every day discourse challenges the relationship of power within the system. Foucault (quoted in Burman et al., 1997) writes that power is communicated in a very subtle way through everyday conversations and even through various forms of media. Burman et al. (1997) argued that the power apartheid wielded resided in the very core of everyday conversations. Therefore, narratives are intrinsically more than just accounts of events that happened. The reason for this is that discourse is considered to be, without a shadow of a doubt, intertwined with power. According to Schriffen (1996) as socio-cultural belief changes, people's accounts with regard to their identity also changes. Therefore, by analyzing the course of South Africans' accounts regarding their identity, the changes that is occurring post-apartheid can easily be traced. Stevens (2003) writes that the various accounts of people offers a glimpse into the fragmented sets of multiple identities which came about post-apartheid, because of the changing economic, social and political terrain.

When thinking about apartheid one cannot help but to think about race. Norval (1996) claims that apartheid has always been a very difficult phenomenon to describe. Franchi (2003) writes that racial

segregation was the consequence of a method of inconsistent allocation of South Africans, based on a fluctuating interpretation regarding 'racial' categorization. Furthermore, Franchi (2003) wrote that during apartheid South Africans were categorized merely based on their assumed membership of four racial groups, which comprised of Black, Coloured, White and Asian individuals. Simms (2000) argued that apartheid was basically a political organization that for the most part favored the Caucasian population in South Africa, and that they manipulated the power they had in order to protect that authority. Thus, apartheid established inequality in order to make sure that while white South Africans were privileged, black South Africans were most of the time at the bottom of the social ladder. Hartigan (1999) and Kinloch (2003) postulated that accounts of whiteness during the apartheid years legitimized the standard racism. In addition, Foster (1996) argued that the majority of white South Africans did not really have to question their race during the apartheid years. The aforementioned resulted in the Caucasian population internalizing the idea of white superiority, and that black South Africans were inferior.

Apartheid officially ended with the first democratic election in April 1994 (Norval, 1996). The democratic elections of 1994 brought about many significant changes. For example, the idea of the rainbow nation which was advocated by Mandela's government. It was designed to encourage racial reconciliation after apartheid (Stevens, Duncan & Bowman, 2006). According to McKinney (2007), even though non-racialism was an honorable intention of the struggle against apartheid and to this day is an essential aspect, it has become more controversial. For example, individuals are characterized based on their race on television, as well as daily conversations. Furthermore, apartheid still taints the new dispensation as racial categories that were assigned during apartheid are still used on a continual basis (Stevens & Lockhat, 1997). Rattansi (2007) and Horrell (2004) argue that even though apartheid has been abolished, it did disrupt the status quo which created problems pertaining to selfhood. In other words, several identities have been rattled and later

reconstructed within a new framework with which a lot of individuals could not affiliate.

As mentioned previously, the majority of studies conducted with regard to race and identity have focused on black and white differences. The relationships between coloured and black people and how they construct their national identity, especially when they are in a foreign country, are still a contentious issue that requires further research. It is therefore important that we have an understanding of coloured and black identity respectively.

Coloured identity within the South African context

The fact that South Africa is such a culturally diverse country, resulted in individuals of multiple ethnicities being ascribed an in-between status. Therefore, the term Coloured refers to a person of “mixed-blood” (Davies, 1991). Before apartheid laws were implemented coloured people would usually mingle with the Europeans, and adopted some of their culture as well as identity (Fisher & Sonn, 2003). According to Duncan (2002), coloured identity is viewed as being a social construction of the apartheid regime. It was crucial for the apartheid regime to de-emphasize the African roots of the coloured person, and to promote the idea of an independent separate coloured identity. Farred (2003, p. 178) writes that coloured people are a community that cannot be considered white nor black. Thus, this conflicting situation placed the coloured community of South Africa in a rather perilous position between the oppressor and the majority of people that were oppressed. However, to include coloured South Africans in the group classified as white was just as complicated, because it tainted the ideology of racial purity. Thus, coloured people were regarded as second class citizens before and during Apartheid. It has been argued by many scholars that coloured identities are one of the most controversial identities in South Africa, not just within the identity group but also without.

Adhikari (2005) divides conceptions of coloured identity into four namely; essentialist conception,

instrumentalist, social constructionist, and post-modern conceptions. Hendricks (quoted in Erasmus 2001) claimed that it was decided that the identity of coloured's is a social construction of the old regime, and also as an aspect of the slave mentality. On the other hand, coloured identity can be perceived as forced upon individuals and them internalizing this identity, because that is how they have been depicted as. Duncan (2002, p. 134) states:

I am a black person who by the contorted logic and discourse of apartheid was classified coloured...However, given the manner in which these labels have traditionally been harnessed to entrench the racist order in this country, as well as psychologically, socially and politically disruptive consequences of their imposition by the ancient regime, I find it difficult not to feel antipathetic towards them.

The above mentioned statement would represent an instrumentalist approach in terms of Adhikari's conceptual grid. It can be argued that it reflects an outright rejection of the coloured signifier (Boesak, 1984). Duncan does not seem to make any reference to the idea that coloured identities are comprised of multiple origins. It seems that he is favoring his African descent. Duncan is also quoted as asserting that "there is no such thing as coloured culture, coloured identity" (Erasmus, 2001). One can argue that he refuses to accept an identity that has been forced upon him by others, and instead he defines himself in a way that he feels resonates with him. However, one could also question whether Duncan is not doing the same thing as coloured people who seem to embrace their 'whiteness' while rejecting their African side. Erasmus (2001) goes further by arguing that whether one shun colourness in an attempt to break free from its racially oppressive nature, it does not mean automatic acceptance into the black category. According to Erasmus (2001, p. 19), coloureds "would always be blacks of a special type". Adhikari (2003, p. 179), when studying the Black Consciousness poetry of James Matthews, echoes Erasmus's (2001) point in arguing that "Matthews all his life nevertheless regarded himself as Coloured and his adherence to Black Consciousness did not cause him to reject this identification".

Coloured people have a tendency to complain about not truly belonging in South Africa due to their

precarious position. According to Erasmus (2001, p. 24), coloureds were marginalized in that they did not enjoy the same privileges whites did, however they were being treated better than blacks. Since the dawn of democracy the lack of sufficient distribution of economic opportunities for coloured people combined with their sense of “victimhood”, explains why coloured people are considered the most homogenous racial grouping in South Africa. Only a few coloured people manage to escape from this stereotype. It can be argued that because of their prior positioning during apartheid, coloured people might feel ostracized and re-evaluate their standing in democratic South Africa. One can therefore argue that race is a very sensitive matter for the coloured community. Adhikari (2004) writes that because coloured people feel excluded it makes them defenseless “in a society in which race remains the primary form of social identification and therefore of social and political solidarity”. Adhikari (2004) further argues that because of coloured peoples’ in-between status in the racial hierarchy, they are more aware of racial issues that affects them both on a personal as well as group level.

As previously alluded to, the concept of a coloured identity is one of controversy as it has never been an identity in its ‘own right’. Erasmus (2001, pp. 15-16) argued that because some coloureds felt uncomfortable with the negative connotations linked to their identity, it resulted in attempts to reconstruct a sense of purity on the one hand and a complete denial of this identity on the other. Therefore, Erasmus (2001) argued that in democratic South Africa the possibility of including coloured identity positively is limited. Erasmus (2001) argues that the reasoning behind it is because of the unexpected occurrence of African essentialism, as well as the role that the depoliticizing discourse of the concept of rainbow nation is playing. Archbishop Desmond Tutu came up with the term “Rainbow nation” which was meant to cover multiculturalism. Even though the idea of the “Rainbow nation” was a powerful nation-building strategy, it was crippled by its ability to be a truly unifying force. The idea of the rainbow nation was criticized for being blind to

the reality of the past, because it ignored the reality of a heightened ethno-racial consciousness. Rainbow nationalism fails to recognize the power differentials between African, Coloured, Asian and White groups because it claims that all these groups have equal rights and equal valid stories.

As mentioned numerous times throughout the study, race still has a huge influence in the new South Africa despite positive changes like for example the ANC's commitment to non-racialism. It can be argued that there is still a deep seated consciousness of race, which is understandable because apartheid only ended recently. Alexander (2006) stated that some argue that affirmative action for example played a huge role in strengthening racial categories. The ANC fails to address the coloured people's need for recognition. The focus is instead on pledging to non-racialism. The ANC denies the term coloured identity because they refer to all formerly oppressed South Africans as black. It begs the question whether coloured people still have a social space? (Erasmus 2005; Alexander, 2003).

In conclusion, holding on to colouredness as a racial identity is fraught with complexities. Les Switzer (quoted in Adhikari, 2006) summed up the situation regarding the complexity of coloured identity as "South Africa's coloured community has remained marginalized by history and even historians". One can argue that the way colouredness is currently perceived, leaves little hope for the future generations to see themselves represented in a positive way in the new South Africa. However, according to Erasmus (2001), colouredness has infinite possibilities for transformation. She warns against limiting coloured identity as caught between black and white identities.

Black identity within the South African context

There have been many arguments claiming black people have internalized the sense of inferiority and shame due to constant exposure to a political system that degraded and rejected blackness (Bryan & Aymer, 1996; Manganyi, 1973). During colonialism blackness was constructed as

abnormal in comparison to whiteness. Black people were considered to be inferior, uncivilized and dangerous. The colonizer did this to justify their cruel behavior towards what they considered the *other*. Black people were depicted as immature, morally corrupt, savage, in other words everything that white people did not display (Du Toit, 1983; Pattman, 2007). During apartheid black people were downgraded to the lowest category of the social hierarchy. During that time they began to accept the fact that they were considered inferior (Biko, 1978). For example, black people began to believe that it is because of their shortcomings as a person that they were being controlled as well as being excluded from the white elite (Hook, 2004).

According to Nobles (1995), researchers have conducted numerous studies and obtained a lot of information pertaining to the concept of self. What they found was that most blacks displayed a self-loathing of the black self. In an interview conducted by Mtosi (2011) Yonda a black woman, “shows that racism is ingrained in blackness”. Yonda’s account (Mtosi, 2011, p. 329):

X town [name of place] is still very much a racist town but I feel like these little back comments little back chatting and how to bow down to the white man sometimes when especially it comes to the police I feel like the white police do not even want to listen to you because automatically if you black they just do not want to hear your story...if they believe you are wrong because you are black you remain wrong no matter what.

Mtosi (2011) argued that even though many policies such as Affirmative Action and Black Empowerment have been legislated and implemented with the intention of correcting the wrongs of the old dispensation, “the argument that contemporary racism is predominantly subtle may be misleading from a black perspective”. Durrheim and Mtosi (2006, p. 157) asserted that because of the significant political change the fact black people developed a low morale because of the past and also the fact that white standards were considered the norm, contributed as black identity constructions that are now linked with “multiplicity, ambivalence and conflict”. According to Erasmus (2001), the authenticity of who is rightfully African has become highly debatable with regard to the construction of black/African racial identity. The reason being that some believe only a

person indigenous to Africa could claim the identity. Furthermore, there is also the controversy with regard to the rebuilding of black identity as imitating the identity of white people. Black individuals who adopt the mannerisms of their white peers are labeled as ‘coconut’, ‘oreo’ or ‘wannabe’ (Durrheim & Mtosi, 2006; Matwla, 2007). Fanon (1976) suggested that blacks aspire to be like their white peers which in turn supports the notion that blacks feel inferior to whites.

Biko (1978) claimed that during apartheid black people internalized the negative rhetoric which portrayed them as inferior. Biko (2004, p. 31) in his writings suggested the following to restore the damage done to the black man’s psyche:

It becomes more necessary to see the truth as it is if you realize that the only vehicles for change are these people who have lost their personality. The first step therefore is to make the black man come to himself; to pump back into his empty shell; to infuse him with pride and dignity to remind him of his complicity in the crime of allowing himself to be misused and therefore letting evil reign supreme in the land of his birth.

However, there were some black individuals that fought against apartheid. According to Stevens and Lockhat (1997), because South Africa has changed so much since the 1994 elections it had a huge impact on blackness.

During apartheid black youth formed a collective identity, because of shared experiences and they began to protest against the racist dogma. In democratic South Africa though there have been a change amongst the black youth, from collectivism to individualism (Stevens & Lockhat, 1997). Stevens and Lockhat (1997) terms this the *Coca Cola Culture*, where a worldview which is based on the understanding of individualism is at the order of the day. Because many black people are embracing this worldview, it echoes Fanon’s theory that every black person deep down inside wants to be white. Biko writes (2004, p. 31):

It becomes more necessary to see the truth as it is if you realize that the only vehicles for change are these people who have lost their personality. The first step therefore is to make the black man come to himself; to pump life back into his empty shell; to infuse him with pride and dignity, to remind him of his complicity in the crime of allowing

himself to be misused and therefore letting evil reign supreme in the land of his birth.

The above-mentioned paragraph out of Steve Biko's writings clearly emphasize the damage that has been done to the black spirit.

According to Cockley (2002), Cross's (1971, 1978, 1991) model of Black racial identity development names five stages, namely: "Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion/Emersion, internalization, and Internalization-Commitment". Furthermore, Cross's model asserts that in Preencounter which is the first stage that the black American has taken on the white American's belief and value systems. In addition, that the white race are always right and the black race always wrong. Cross asserts that even though black people are not consciously aware about the stereotypes, they do want to assimilate with the white population and in so doing distancing themselves from their own kind (Cockley, 2002). Helms (1990, p. 23):

The person must maintain the fiction that race and racial indoctrination has nothing to do with how he or she lives life. It is probably the case that the Preencounter person is bombarded on a regular basis with information that he or she cannot really be a member of the "in" racial group but relies on denial to selectively screen such information from awareness.

When an individual is forced to realize the impact of racism, for example social rejection by white colleagues which leads him or her to believe that they are not equal to their white peers, it is called the Encounter phase. The characteristics of the Immersion/Emersion stage is the need to identify with clear attributes of one's racial identity, and not of attributes of whiteness. According to Thomas Parham (1989, p. 190), "At this stage, everything of value in life must be Black or relevant to Blackness. This stage is also characterized by a tendency to denigrate White people, simultaneously glorifying Black people...". During entry of the Immersion stage individuals want to delve into their past, with some assistance from the group they belong to.

Parham (1989) writes that when one is secure in your own racial identity then it is not necessary to argue the "Blacker than thou" attitude, which the immersion stage is known for. Cross (1971, p. 24)

states that in general “pro- Black attitudes become more expansive, open, and less defensive”. Cross (1991, p. 220) asserts that there are some psychological variations separating Internalization and Internalization-Commitment. At the fifth stage which is the Internalization-Commitment, they have found ways to translate their “personal sense of blackness into a plan of action or a general sense of commitment”. According to Cross, Parham and Helms (1991, p. 330), blackness becomes “the point of departure for discovering the universe of ideas, cultures and experiences beyond blackness as the universe itself”.

Hall, one of the critics that have played a crucial role with regard to arguments pertaining to nationalism and national identity, focused his attention on changing the perspective of the old thought process regarding the concepts of identity and representation. For Hall meaning is created within the domain of the concept representation. Hall (1996a, p. 443) writes:

Events, relations, structures do have conditions of existence and real effects, outside the sphere of the discursive, but that is only within the discursive, and subject to its specific conditions, limits and modalities, do they have or can they be constructed within meaning.

From the above mentioned, one can deduce that this change in the way representation is perceived has allowed for the recognition of multiple diversities. According to Hall (1996a, p. 443):

The recognition of the extraordinary diversity of subject positions, social experiences and cultural identities which compose the category ‘black’; that is the recognition that ‘black’ is essentially a politically and culturally constructed category, which cannot be grounded in a set of fixed transcultural or transcendental racial categories and which therefore has no guarantees in nature.

To come to such a realization is important within the South African context, because when one can grasp that colour is not what defines a person but rather “subject positions, social experiences and cultural identities”, then only can South Africa stop focusing on issues regarding colour.

Coloured versus Black dynamic within the South African context

The fact that coloured identity is established as separate from black before and after apartheid, has

serious ramifications for coloured and black relationships in South Africa. According to Smith and Stones (1999), black people are more positive towards changes while coloured people tend to be more neutral. It can be argued that because coloured people's identities are of a complicated nature they would want to defend their validity, which could in turn distance them from the black and white communities in South Africa.

Furthermore, Erasmus (2001, p. 24) argued that for a few coloured people who had chosen to fall under one unified black identity during apartheid, the perception of black racial privileging as well as the renewed racial distinctions caused a re-identification with coloured identity. Erasmus (2001) argued that coloured identity is more than just the fact that it has been formed by white supremacy. It is also crucial that coloured people accept the fact that their identity is characterized by its complexity due to the slavery of the black people. Stevens (1998) found that when he interviewed coloured people they constructed their identity and positions in relation to the 'other'. The 'other' was represented by black Africans that posed as an economic, physical and social threat to coloured people.

Brown (2000) claimed that the old dispensation played a major role in how black and coloured people interacted with one another. For example, there was a perception during the middle of the 20th century that black Africans were not indigenous inhabitants of the Western Cape. According to Eiselen's declaration of Coloured Labor Preference Policy (quoted in Posel, 2001, p. 220), "the ultimate elimination of the Natives from the Western Cape was declared a natural home for the Coloured people". Eiselen goes further by positioning the coloured and black people as opponents, by claiming that coloured people had a right to be protected against competition from the blacks. One can therefore argue that the Western Cape in particular has a history regarding black African-coloured relations, some of which has impacted on current personal relationships, as well as at the intergroup level.

Du Pre (quoted in Brown, 2000) claimed that coloured and black relationships are “frequently based on a perceived lack of similarity and heightened awareness of difference”. As mentioned previously, during apartheid coloureds were positioned below whites but above blacks in the social hierarchy. This risky positioning resulted in coloureds being treated more favorable with regard to government policies and policing. In comparison with coloureds, black people were treated as worthless inferior individuals, were unemployed, lacked education and lived in smaller houses with poorer conditions (Erasmus, 2001). Erasmus (2001) argued that because of the fact that coloured people enjoyed more privileges than that of their black counterparts, it made them more prone to racism. According to Brown (2000, p. 199), coloured people served as a buffer between black and white people during apartheid. Some coloured individuals even had the opportunity to become “Pass-Whites”. According to Foster (quoted in Brown, 2000, p. 199), they are defined as individuals who “obtained legal reclassification as “White” from the government”. All these factors led to coloured and black people having different experiential realities, seeing as they were characterized being identified as a member of one group or another.

As mentioned previously, because of the fact that coloured people enjoyed more privileges than that of their black counterparts, one can argue that black people might have been wary of coloured individuals who were so easily accepted into the white community in South Africa. One could also argue that this contributed to a break in the already fragile relationship between black and coloured people. According to Brown (2000, p. 200):

Black people were likely to view coloured individuals with suspicion and resentment because overall the coloured group benefited more from the social system than blacks located at the bottom the hierarchy. Coloured people were likely to be wary of the black group that could vent its frustrations and displace aggression toward whites onto the more socially acceptable target that the coloured group represented.

Brown (2000, p. 202) asserts that major points of conflict between black and coloured people are the fact that there has been this stereotype of coloured people as being of “mixed-breed”. This

implies that they have “no nationhood, identity, land or culture”. Black people on the other hand, were viewed as being a “pure-breed” and having an identity that dates back centuries”. Brown (2000, p. 202) stated that:

These intertwined stereotypes are problematic for coloured and black interactions because they may constantly come to mind for coloured individuals when they are in the presence of black persons, whether a particular black person believes the negative stereotype or not.

Furthermore, Brown (2000) argues that “the establishment of coloured identity as separate from black before and during apartheid, and the legacy of obscuring similarities while promoting perceived differences, have implications for future coloured and black relations in South Africa”.

Smith and Stones (quoted in Brown, 2000) stated that black people tend to be more positive than coloured’s who tend to be more neutral when it comes to changes in their country. Coloured people feel that they are worse off after the democratic elections, than before 1994 (Adhakiri, 2004).

Anthony Wilson (quoted in Adhakiri, 2004) postulated that:

The Boers stole, but at least they budgeted and did not steal everything. They stole the cream; the milk and the bucket...We (coloureds) are being victimized. We are being turned into the new slaves of our country. ...We swapped five million farmers for 34 million blacks [as our oppressors].

One can therefore argue that apartheid managed to divide by making sure that even the oppressed were subdivided into further opposing subclasses, as one can deduce from the black and coloured relations.

Conclusion

To summarize, in South Africa the close relationship between individual and social identity with regard to racial groups is imperative. Racial identity only emerges within the context of a continued interaction between two or more racial groups. One can only establish a good relationship with a particular group when you acknowledge the presence of different groups. However, the construction

of both old and new racial identities continue to be a struggle for many South Africans. Therefore, the fact that the construction of both old and new racial identities might not be that different from one another, is quite troublesome. This brings us then to the focus of this study, which is to gain an understanding of how black and coloured people construct their national identities in a homogenous country such as South Korea. Furthermore, how South Africa's tumultuous past influences the way their stories are being told.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

Rousse (quoted in Zegeye & Harris, 2002, p. 44) characterize identity as “forms of individual personhood or self- image, as well as, collective-image shared by the members of social groups and communities”. Even though the concept of identity has received a lot of scholarly attention it remains challenging to conceptualize, and the fight over its meaning dominates much of the literature (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000). Reicher and Hopkins (2001, p. 281) writes:

Identity is an important but elusive quality and “national identity” is even more so. What goes on in people’s heads is very complicated and difficult for historians to pin down. We do have evidence at least about the “public faces” of people’s identities. The processes by which those identities are constructed are themselves very complex, involving a number of psychological and sociological mechanisms, and varying according to context and situation.

The meaning behind identity, according to Brubaker and Cooper (2000, p. 6), relies completely on the framework used, as well as the theoretical tradition with regard to how it is used. Furthermore, Zegeye & Harris (2002, pp. 244-245) writes that the theory of identity has numerous problems, however what is of importance is that an individual’s identity is formed when interacting with others and thus identities are not fixed.

For the purpose of this study a social constructionist framework will be used to explore how black and coloured South Africans, given their country’s tumultuous past shrouded in controversy, construct their national identity in a homogenous country such as South Korea. According to Hill and Volker (2000), it is imperative that one acknowledge that identities and images are created from stories. In other words, as individuals try to figure out their various identities they re-narrate their identities. Therefore I will also argue that language and discourse, in keeping with the constructivist perspective, plays an important part in how people construct their own understanding of their national identity by means of talking about and giving meaning to it.

A social constructionist approach to identity

Burr (2003, p. 13) writes that theorists such as Berger and Luckmann believed that through social interaction, identities as well as social reality are constructed. This is in line with Gergen (1985) who argued that the objective of social constructionism is to bring awareness through the course of social networking. Therefore, social constructionism is brought about when meaning is obtained by means of social practices, and is opposite to the more positivistic viewpoint that regards our knowledge of the world as the result of scientific undertakings.

It is from the above-mentioned paradigm that social constructionism grew, and began to engage with how this creation of social reality occurs. Foucault (1978; 1979) writes that the reasons generally given for social behaviors were rooted in the individual. Social structures such as the economy, according to sociology, are accountable for an individual's social behavior. According to Burr (2003, p. 9), social constructionism started to concentrate on the “social practices engaged in by people, and their interactions with each other” as the leading fundamental influence in the community.

The above-mentioned interactions, mainly occur through language (Edwards, 1997). Edley and Wetherell (1996), as well as, Edwards (1997) argues that depending on who we interact with our language changes. Therefore, in different situations we portray different identities. According to Edley and Wetherell (1996) we are the stories we tell, thus our identities are formed during storytelling. Burr (2003, p. 54) writes “the constructive force of language in social interaction ensures a fragmented, shifting and temporary identity for all of us”.

The enlightenment, sociological and the post-modern subjects are the three phases of identity perception (Hall, 1992). The evolution of these concepts has shifted the notion from a “fixed identity” towards the idea that identities are never really attainable. As humans we are always

evolving and we alter our individual narrative based on the situation we find ourselves to be in.

According to Hall (1992, pp. 276-277):

Identity become a ‘moveable feast’ : formed and transformed continuously in relation to the ways we are represented or addressed in the cultural systems which surround us... the subject assumes different identities at different times, identities which are not unified around a coherent ‘self’. Within us we are contradictory identities pulling in different directions, so that our identifications are continuously being shifted about.

Furthermore, Hall (1992, p. 277) writes that if we feel that we have a ‘unified identity’ from the day of birth till the day we die, it is only because we have created an encouraging narrative about ourselves. However, others also create their own story of us and thus it is imperative to take into account that these narratives comprise of various factors regarding our lives and the community we live in. Therefore, a societal framework, as well as hegemonic processes that existed before our birth affected identity.

From the above mentioned, it is evident that we are born into a set of social identities that existed long before us. Wetherell and Potter (1992, p. 249) writes that social constructionism does not regard the individual as important, and therefore the focus is on “social accounting or public discourse”. To examine discourse we must take a closer look to social interaction.

Language and discourse

The part discourse and language plays in the character of identities is the focus of the discursive approach, which is an important strand within the postmodernist approach to identity. As previously mentioned, language is perceived as forming an essential part of social life and therefore underlying this approach is a social constructivist view with regard to language. The discursive approach views language as essential to having a social life, whereas traditionally language was perceived as a pathway to certain attitudes and beliefs within the individual. Burr (2003, p. 53) writes that our personalities, experiences and identities are a result of language. Thus, we are only able to present an image of ourselves through language. The concepts that are

accessible to us essentially both constrain and constitute us. Language gives us a framework within which we can carry out our stories and are therefore not ‘innocent’. Notions such as for example love and even personalities, to mention but a few, are ingrained in our wording which form our reality and how we conceptualize the universe (Burr, 2003, p. 48).

Wetherell (quoted in Van den Berg, Wetherell & Houtkoop-Steenstra, 2003, p. 10) writes that people create their world by means of speaking. Furthermore, as the stories circulate they become social truths that are a force to be reckoned with. Barker (1999, p. 15) argues that language as a social resource is imperative, because this is how we think of ourselves with regard to specific social identities. Furthermore, Calhoun (1997, p. 48) writes that identities are largely dependent on the meaning people ascribe to it through talk. According to Ainsworthy and Hardy (2000, p. 237), identity is constructed by means of shared conversations and thus individuals take ownership of the different noticeable social identities, as well as shared identities. Burr (2003, p. 8) writes:

Concepts and categories are acquired by each person as they develop the use of language and are thus reproduced every day by everyone who shares a culture and a language. This means that the way a person thinks, the very categories and concepts that provide a framework of meaning for them, are provided by the language they use.

Meaning is given by means of these categories and concepts. These meanings in turn shape our experiences. Social assumptions that are based on specific groups of meanings are called discourses. The notion of discourse is complicated and has various definitions (Burr, 2003).

Foucault (1976, p. 49) argues that discourses are “practices which form the objects of which they speak”. According to Burr (2003, p. 46), discourses are “a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements and so on that in some way together produce a particular version of events”. Every discourse claims to be the truth. Each discourse suggests facets of understanding with a specific focus, which brings about various difficulties for human actions according to the discourse. No discourse is correct because each set of beliefs take place within

discourse. According to Burr (2003, p. 65), “claims to truth and knowledge...lie at the heart of discussions of identity, power and change”.

Burr (2003, p. 62) writes that how we define ourselves and our world have an influence on our behavior, thus eventually shapes or community and our world, instead of simply reflecting it. Burr (2003, p. 46) argues that reality is therefore constructed by language. According to Burr (2003, p. 46), “...language and our use of it far from simply describing the world, both constructs the world as we perceive it has real consequences”. Identities are thus doubly constructed because language or for that matter discourse, constructs reality. In other words identities are constructed by language itself, as well as by social manifestations of discourses.

Discourses and as a result meaning is culturally and historically specific. Discourses tend to evolve as time pass and thus we are constructed according to the discourse of the day (Burr, 2003, p. 35). According to Burr (2003, p. 35), “... whatever personal qualities we may display are a function of the particular cultural, historical and relational circumstances in which we are located”. Wetherell et al. (2001, p. 218) writes that as individuals we are embedded with distinct historical, as well as cultural beliefs. For example, during apartheid notions of the dissimilarity that existed between white and black were constructed according to the leading discourses of that period, whereas currently various discourses are becoming powerful in South Africa.

Action-orientated approach

An action-orientated approach to discourse has developed within some strands of social psychology, and thus gave a lot more power to individuals with regard to constructing categories. Chryssochoou (2003, p. 231) argues that this is the main argument of conversation and discourse analysis, in that it investigates how individuals constitute and debate the positions of the subjects in discourse language to create a specific image of the world. Therefore, according to Edwards

(1997, p. 24), language is thought of as either a social activity or social routine.

People use language to construct their own notion of their social worlds. According to Chryssochoou (2003, p. 236), the action orientated approach gives us an opportunity to explore how identity categories are constructed with regard to the work they are doing. Brubaker (2004, p. 116) argues that identity categories can accomplish a lot by means of changing the perception that people have of themselves, and also to clearly express their wants, as well as to make sure that people are moved to be loyal. According to Chryssochoou (2003, p. 236), identities symbolizes the desired position one has or wish to have, and also it illustrates what one wish the content of the positions should have. Reicher and Hopkins (2001, p. 48) characterizes social identity as being aware of the position one have within an order of definitive social relationships, including the correct and potential behaviours that might stem from being in such a place. Therefore, identity claims are characteristic of social relationships which means that one perceive the world in a specific way. For example, if one define oneself in terms of race the perception is that one is but a single component of the universe organized by races with certain relations between and within various races. Therefore, this attribute make identity claims essentially ideological. Hall (1996, p. 4) argues that:

Identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not who we are or where we came from so much as ‘what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how might represent ourselves’.

Reicher and Hopkins (2001, p. 42) in their 2001 work on nationalism claimed that definitions of categories are not just how people view things, but also it is an endeavor to bring about how things should be. Bernstein (quoted in Smith and Tatalovich, 2003, p. 51) talk about prospective identities, meaning that it might draw on sources from both history and the present. However, there is an important distinction in that the material gathered will be spent to construct an identity that is

embedded in an appealingly better and distinct tomorrow. Calhoun (1994, p. 29) mirror this statement by arguing that identities are embedded partly in moral beliefs and goals that is difficult to bring into fruition. Thus, in their identity claims individuals push for a form of social reality, as well as social relationship they want in the future and they do not portray the present social reality as is.

The idea of audience is of relevance here. As people make identity statements within the community, in other words they make it public, often times there will be an immediate audience nearby and thus these statements can be passed on to obtain a specific result with that particular audience. However, Gamson (1992, p. 19) mentions another level of audience which he refers to as the unseen gallery. This unseen gallery (referring to audience) could be a very influential group in the community. Chryssochoou (2003, p. 233) writes that despite the audience's concerns, the opportunity to advance specific accounts are restricted by questions concerning the knowledge that already exists, as well as recognition. Thus, the aforementioned emphasizes the notion of the constructivist that identities cannot be created at will, but have to collaborate with various material that might possibly have a long history.

To conclude, the part language plays in the development of identities are crucial because the idea with regard to similarities and differences are formulated in language. In order for people to visualize themselves as part of a community, language is needed to talk about that community.

A social constructionist approach to race

The discourse attached to race groupings are also especially meaningful. The reason being that it is constantly changing due to politics (Machery & Faucher, 2005). Omi and Winant (quoted in Machery & Faucher, 2005, p. 1209) writes that race should be acknowledged as an “unstable and decentered complex of social meanings”, rather as being perceived as a fixed construct. According

to Hill and Volker (2000, p. 193), social constructionists recognizes the heterogeneousness of identities in that race is “The negotiated interaction between societal phenomenon’s of categorization based on physical markers (such as skin colour and facial features) and a personal phenomenon of identity”. When one realize that racial identities are not stable it can result in accepting the likelihood of change. Dolby (2001, p. 118) writes that it can be accomplished even though race holds power in South Africa and persists to be “a critical point of voluntary and involuntary identification”.

Race is a modern cultural creation that came about as the primary form of identity in communities, where it operates to stratify the social system (Smedly, 1998). Posel (2001, p. 58) writes that the apartheid regime imprinted a strong subjective experience of racial relations, because of the networking of racial classification with current hierarchies such as for example status and class. According to Berger (1992, p. 285), the postmodern mindset in questioning the inflexible and strong understandings with regard to the categorization of race, gives an “emphasis on fluidity” that is essential. Posel (2001, p. 88) focused on the formulation of race in particular and she emphasized the major role race played during the apartheid regime. Posel (2001) also focused specifically on how the National party during the apartheid era used the term race as a socio-legal construct, rather than base it on biological important elements. Posel (2001, p. 88) asserts that this made for the “overwhelming racialization of South African society” that currently still prevails.

This study therefore takes into account that ethnic groups are socially constructed, and that it is forever located within a specific socio-historical framework. Furthermore, with regard to researching racial identity social constructionism is a beneficial framework. Social constructionism takes into account that individuals have different realities, but at the same time acknowledges the fact that people do share common experiences (Hill & Volker, 2000).

A social constructivist approach to nationhood

Brown (2000, p. 22) writes that the constructivist perception with regard to nationhood is that it is an ideological fantasy, created to provide a feeling of fellowship, as well as assurance to people who faces the “complexities and uncertainties of modernity”. Furthermore, Brown (2000, p. 22) argues that as a result the most important function with regard to the notion of nationhood is to give “moral and physical security” to individuals that have been socially thrown into disarray by modern forces. Constructivist approaches acknowledges the fact that primordial meanings that have been given to the national community is important due to the rhetorical, ideological purpose that they meet. According to Reicher and Hopkins (2001, p. 222), “National identity is always a project, the success of which depends upon it being seen as an essence”.

Eriksen (2002) writes that the myth of nationhood imitates the notion of a relational community on a theoretical, large-scale level. According to Eriksen (2000), the myth of nationhood, figuratively speaking, create relationships of the nation as a ‘family’, the nationhood as ‘kinship’ and the national domain as ‘home’. Brown (2000, p. 42) writes that because of the afore-mentioned, it results in “deploying the emotional power of the family in the service of the state”. Therefore, the constructivist perspective is not so concerned with the debate regarding the earliest conception or modern conception of nations in itself. The importance is on how liberal nations, as well as primordial nations, are utilized in the folklore of nationhood to accomplish its ideological intentions of creating a notion of a naturally bounded community that is historically continuous. According to McCrone (1998, p. 52), myths of nationhood are replicated by means of various formulations: “The narrative of the nation is told and retold through national histories, literatures, the media and popular culture, which together provide a set of stories, images, landscapes, scenarios, historical events, national symbols and rituals”.

Brown (2000, p. 37) writes that various studies have indicated that it is not easy to distinguish

between liberal explanations of nations and ethnocultural, because stories of the nation will include characteristics of both. According to Brown (2000, p. 19), “the nationalist claim is contained in two different myths: those which offer a sense of categorized permanence in a territorial home, and those which focus on offering a sense of cultural sameness in the claim to common ancestry” As a result most of the folklore with regard to nationhood are internally doubtful. This uncertainty appear for example in frictions between the notion welcoming ethnic diversity, and the notion of having an ethnic core. According to Geschiere (2009, p. 20), the afore-mentioned feeds into the battle with regard to autochthony, which is this idea that genuine members of the community are members with a “special link with the soil”.

To conclude, the notion of a diverse nationhood can be regarded as an endeavor to fix these frictions. Multicultural nationalism is constructed on acknowledgement and commemoration of racial differences within the community, as well as the model of non-discrimination between ethnic groups and also citizens (Brown, 2000, p. 48). It is important to mention though that Brown (2000) does acknowledge that multiculturalism is not resistant when it comes to the tensions between ethno cultural and civic interpretations. It is almost certain then that nationhood is always going to be controversial.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this study will be conscious of the fact that people are actors who on a continuous basis are carving out, and creating their own social world by means of verbally interacting with each other. Therefore, the cosmos created by humans has no existential quality other than the human activity it was created by (Segal, Segal & Eyre, 1992). In addition, this research also acknowledges how crucial narratives are when identities are constructed. While individuals are negotiating their multiple identities, they also re-narrate their identities (Kenyon & Randall, 1997).

As previously mentioned, this study aligns itself with the constructivist approach where I argue that people construct their identities through various interactions. This chapter gave an overview of the theoretical perspective used in this dissertation, whereas the next chapter will detail the methods utilized to obtain the relevant data.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

Introduction: Qualitative method

Various academics that discuss the marginalization given to the qualitative approach, also speak of the bureaucracy that hide behind the aforementioned marginalization. Research that illustrates the advantages of qualitative methods, also compares it with quantitative methods that has just as many advantages as that of qualitative methods. Therefore, one can argue that there is a power struggle between these two methods. Harre and Chrystal (2004) argue that these days there are attempts to silence the arguments, because so many articles and books advocate that qualitative and quantitative methods should be combined. According to Clarke (2004, p. 81), the researcher has the “best of both worlds” when qualitative and quantitative methods are integrated into the research. The perception is that not one of the methods are complete, and that by combining the two methods will make up for any shortcomings. The irony with regard to these methodological arguments is that they take on an attribute that mirror historical racial arguments, where qualitative methods in some ways represented black people and quantitative methods in some ways represented white people. However, for purposes of this thesis the continuing arguments with regard to the qualitative method and quantitative method will not be explored, instead the choice of method will be discussed to give a reason as to why it is appropriate for this study.

For this study a qualitative approach seemed better suited than the quantitative approach. In order for the reader to understand the reasoning for this methodological choice, I will once more give a short summary of my story. As mentioned previously, I am a coloured South African female living as an expat in South Korea. Given South Africa’s tainted past, my interest reached a peak when I started to notice how wonderfully we all get along as South Africans despite racial differences. The racial ‘baggage’ we seem to carry does not define us in Korea, because our nationality (that is being South African) trumps our skin colour. However, each time I visited South Africa reality

kicked in and I experienced first-hand how South Africans truly feel about each other in general. I began to wonder whether the notion of a collective South African national identity truly exists. Furthermore, how black and coloured individuals would construct their national identity in South Korea, given South Africa's tumultuous history. The fact that I am also a person of colour and my experiences in Korea overlap with fellow coloured and black South Africans, sparked my curiosity in exploring their accounts, as people of colour living in Korea (Ponterotto, 2005).

Many perceive the qualitative method to be the most relevant approach with regard to examining the everyday lives of participants. The qualitative method is the best choice for studying the complicated interaction between constructs, because the everyday experiences of participants also includes their socio-political contexts (Tolman & Brydon-Miller, 2001). Barbour (2008) argues that qualitative research highlights how people understand concepts and explain possible inconsistencies. The qualitative research that I undertake here is of a descriptive nature, that is to say that words and not numbers are of utmost importance because it allows for a more in-depth awareness (Marecek, Fine & Kidder, 2001).

According to Burman (2001), researchers that support the qualitative method value what the data means, has a role within the research and are inspired to work reflexively. Dilthey (1976, p. 6) writes that in order to be systematic, it is important that one adapt one's approach to the topic. An individual's lived reality is determined by his or her historical and psychological surroundings. Thus, in order to know an individual one needs to understand their situation (Dilthey 1976). Dilthey (1976, p. 18) asserts that even though individuals are independent they are also the result of their position in space and time, as well as the interplay of society and cultural organizations. People are not merely the result of their surroundings, they are also born with the ability to make their own choices.

From the social constructionist viewpoint the way in which people mentally visualize their reality, as well as themselves, are socially, culturally and historically defined. Thus, the way we understand the world is shaped on a daily basis through interactions with our fellow human beings. Given the subject matter this study as mentioned previously, aligns itself with the qualitative methodology. In addition, this study also assumes a social constructionist viewpoint acknowledging the fact that individuals and societies' acceptance of the construct being a reality is what matters, and that it is not of utmost importance if something is actually real or not. For example, the concept of race still possesses a great deal of power with regard to the identities of the South African people post-apartheid, even though it was conceived due to specific events from the past. (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Foster, 2006; Miller, Hengst & Wang, 2003).

Burr (1995) asserts that race is a result of social actions, which means that there is no definitive identity. The constructionists understands racialized identities as a concept that is regularly renegotiated through linguistic exchange and social performance (Cerula, 1997). Narrative epistemology is closely associated with socially created notions of identities. Therefore, it implies that by paying attention to one another, as well as communicating by means of storytelling, knowledge is produced and reproduced. Because narratives are subjective and prone to change, the experiences and subjectivities of people lack truth. However, narratives can also be valuable in that they indicate the many debates, understandings and construct of a specific sociocultural context (Murray, 2003; Riessman, 1993).

In conclusion social contexts are crucial for the creation of narratives. Therefore the researcher is seen as being part of any knowledge or understanding that was created. Hence, I was well aware that I had an impact on and determined how knowledge was produced within this study (Foster, 2006; Miller, Hengst & Wang, 2003).

Aims

Despite the democratic elections of 1994 racism is still very much embedded into the very fabric of South African society, even though many to this day still believes that it no longer exists. Nowadays, it is in South Africa's best interest to examine new and developing situations regarding race and racialized identities (Stevens et al., 2006). Therefore, the purpose of this study was to have a better understanding of how coloured and black South Africans construct their national identity in a foreign country such as homogeneous South Korea. Furthermore, how the story of race and national identity becomes told by coloured and black individuals when they find themselves not only as the minority in South Africa, but also in a foreign country like South Korea. During the research process I cogitated on my subjectivity and the ways in which it affected the research and the participants.

Participants

A total of fourteen individuals constituted the sample. The motivation behind this number is the need to provide some time to attend in a detailed way possible, facilitating an in-depth understanding. Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999) argues that six to eight data sources are required to represent a satisfactory sample size for a homogenous sample, ten to twenty where the intension is to conduct short interviews to show maximum variation. With this in mind, I limited the sample size so it not be a homogenous sample. A smaller sample size would have limited evidence of the variability that had begun to develop as the interviews progressed. A bigger sample size would have made the interpretation and analysis difficult, because fourteen individuals already produced an enormous amount of data.

This study included the following participants:

Colored=7 participants

Black=5 participants

Korean= 2 participants

None of the participants dropped out during the course of the research process. Invitations were extended to participants based on specific inclusion criteria. The requirements were that those who partake in the study be between the ages of 24 to 35 years, and had to have lived in Korea for more than two years. Given the subject matter, only black and coloured South Africans were invited to partake in this study. The twelve South African participants were employed as native English teachers in South Korea. Two Korean Hagwon (private school) owners who were willing to contribute to the data were also interviewed, thereby giving a little bit of Korean perspective on the subject matter.

Data Collection

Participants were approached during our monthly meetings as native English teachers in Chungbuk province, South Korea. I made sure that they were reasonably informed with regard to what the study entailed. In order to prevent participants from giving programmed responses, it was difficult to decide how much information to give to the participants regarding the nature of the study (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). Those who showed interest were provided with the Participant Information Form (See Appendix 1) and called to ensure participation. Semi-structured interviews, approximately an hour long, were conducted with each individual being interviewed on at least two occasions.

The comfort and availability of the participants was my main priority, therefore participants were given the choice to select the time and place for the interviews to be conducted (Lewis-Beck, Bryman & Liao, 2004). The interviews took place at their apartments and via Skype (due to conflicting time schedules). Sherwood (1980) postulates that when the researcher is open to meet

at the participants' home it facilitates the development of relationships, as well as, increases the possibilities of a fruitful research.

According to Kincheloe and McLaren (2000), for this kind of study questionnaires that are minimally structured are best as it gives the participants the opportunity to examine themselves more closely. The participants were asked to contemplate the impact their racial identity has had on their lives, as a point of entry to the conversation. The following questions were asked:

1. What do you think constitutes a South African national identity?
2. Do you think a single South African identity exists, and is it even possible to have an all-inclusive identity?
3. Have you ever felt like your race defined you? And if so in what way?
4. How has your experience as a black person been in Korea, and is it any different than in South Africa?
5. How has your experience as a coloured person been in Korea, and is it any different than in South Africa?
6. Have you ever spoken openly about your racial identity in this way?

Once I received permission from the participants their stories were recorded and the tape recordings were transcribed verbatim. I read the transcriptions numerous times to ensure that I am familiar with the content. The written text were examined in the hopes of eliciting themes. According to Parker (2005, p. 99), the grouping of themes forms the basis of thematic analysis after which ensues "an attempt to trace the internal shape of experiential awareness" referred to as "phenomenological immediacy". The verbal texts are changed to written texts by the researcher, in order to analyze which texts are relevant for contemplation. According to Ochs (1979), when one

transcribe a text it can already be considered as a type of theory (Parker, 2005).

Data Analysis

I am interested in how coloured and black people construct their national identity, and how being the racial minority in a homogeneous country such as South Korea shape coloured and black individuals' perception in that regard. According to Dilthey (1976, p. 16), "We must analyze the individual connections within the comprehensive context as accurately as possible and take the analysis as far as we can; we must explain the origin of things we can analyze and describe accurately those we cannot". According to Parker (2005), when one transcribes the data it is important to listen with the hope of eliciting themes. Many themes were derived from the data I acquired, without really taking into account that they might overlap. I reread the themes to make sure that they do not overlap and to extract details to ensure the content be rationally structured.

It is important to take into account that the participants' narratives are not in any way objective or represents actual reality. Therefore, Parker (2005) warns us not to view the participants' accounts as true reflections of their stories. Gaskell (2000) states that researchers should reflect on the version of the story given by the participants, as well as take into consideration the conditions that may have shaped it. Dilthey (1976, p. 23) writes that participants' accounts, even though they contain real insights, are inevitably subjective and thus can only be parts of the truth. According to Jaworski and Coupland (1999), despite the fact that the narratives are constructed it does mirror crucial elements of the individual's universe which makes them valuable for social studies. Therefore, the accounts obtained were thoroughly examined for relevant themes.

As soon as the data were acquired the analysis of the research material started. Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999) asserts that during the data gathering process it is important to make notes, draw diagrams and brainstorm. These processes constitute the beginning stages of thematic analysis.

Smith (1992) asserts that the term thematic refers to narratives and themes. Based on the teachings of thematic content analysis any particular text or passage can have multiple themes. Thematic content analysis gives the researcher the opportunity to explore the accounts for potential themes, and thus is utilized in this research study. Therefore, themes are important because it provides a better understanding of racism and racialized identities. In this study the themes provided an understanding of how South Africans, especially black and coloured individuals, construct their national identity in South Korea.

Braun and Clarke (2006) writes that a thematic content analysis approach can mirror reality, as well as shake the very foundation of reality. The notion that identity and other social constructs are the actual truth, are thus brought into question by means of using thematic content analysis. Therefore, different social accounts, truths and knowledge were deconstructed and these constructs were discussed as products which are produced through shared interchanges.

Regarding the process of data analysis, the focus of the investigation was directed by the formulated research questions. Themes were able to materialize in an organic and spontaneous manner during the reading of the narratives. After numerous readings any trends, patterns, themes and commonalities that were discovered were characterized, and the unit of analysis (episodes, assertions that are meaningful, expressions etc.) were designated to these categories. After identifying all the relevant themes, the data set were thoroughly inspected for ideal assertions to put under each theme. The aforementioned would be used for when the research report was written. The researcher was well aware that her role and the way she positioned herself in connection with the accounts of the participants, could come under scrutiny (Elliot, 2007; Steyn, 2001).

Validity

The complications of validity as a concept continues to exasperate qualitative researchers, because

they are constantly faced with a challenge to convince research communities that support traditional quantitative approaches of the credibility of qualitative approaches. Traditional research communities are confronted with a research approach that takes into consideration creativity, subjectivity and rigor (Whittemore, Chase & Mandle, 2001). Another academic however, thoroughly questioned the validity concept within the qualitative model, regarding whether the interpretation is by nature biased (Tappan, 2001).

Winter (2000, p. 1) argues that in qualitative research the notion of validity is not considered to be concept that is common, single or fixed, but “rather a contingent construct, inescapably grounded in the processes and intentions of particular research methodologies and projects”. Tappan (2001, p. 50) states that according to this approach truth cannot be impartial, thus the data can’t ever be compared to reality and there cannot be an assumption of validity that is comparable. Tappan (2001)

claims that the goal is to give authentic accounts that are a clarification of an independent truth. However, the authentic accounts are perceived as autonomous from the researcher’s control. Therefore, the researcher and the participant are basically viewed as interdependent.

According to Fish (quoted in Tolman and Brydon-Miller, 2001, p. 51), to evaluate validity a scholar of qualitative research will create meaning which is based upon her personal outlook. In other words, a researchers’ interpretation is based on how she views her surroundings and can thus not be considered as ‘true’ meaning. Furthermore, according to Tappan (2001, p. 51), a researcher that deciphers the text in some special and distinctive way on his own does not exist. What serves as an evaluation for validity is to seek what Fish refers to as “interpretive agreement”. In other words, one must seek members within the interpretive community that shares the same assumptions, biases and prejudices (Tolman and Brydon- Miller, 2001). Thus, in seeking interpretive agreement I engaged my supervisor Professor Painter. Tappan (2001, p. 52) writes that

another method that aids the interpretive agreement is when one quotes the verbatim texts of participants, which gives the reader the opportunity to examine the perceptions in relation to what was actually said. It is proposed that the researcher gives thorough and detailed descriptions of the texts, which will help the reader to analyze the texts in a detailed way. Therefore, this is also the method undertaken with this study.

Reflexivity

Reflexivity is of utmost importance when doing research (Burman, 2001). The positivism approach asserts that social sciences can be studied objectively and rationally (Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005). In contrast with the positivism approach, constructionist thought argues that an objective outsider does not exist. Therefore, I considered myself to be a part of the developments with regard to meaning making. The researcher invests seriously in the construction of knowledge and meaning making, therefore reflexivity refers to self-awareness. (Cameron, Frazer, Harvey, Rampton & Richardson, 1999).

Reflexivity gives the reader an understanding of the subjectivity of the researcher. This gives the reader the opportunity to assess for potential research bias. The traditional approaches advocated the neutrality of the researcher, whereas the qualitative approach is the total opposite in that it allows for transparency of the researcher. This transparency exposes the researcher by revealing his or her identity, as well as revealing the various manners the investigator is located in the study (Etherington, 2007). Thus, I have continued to reflect and be conscious of my position while writing this paper. To journal one's experience during the research process is also very useful with regard to understanding the long disconnect from the thesis project.

Ethical considerations

This study asked for coloured and black participants to delve into the notion of a collective South

African national identity, especially being a minority in a foreign country. Even though the research topic was not of an extremely delicate nature, it was important that ethical considerations be followed. The aforementioned is in place so that those partaking in the study be protected. Nama and Swartz (2002) writes that whether in researcher or practitioner capacity, psychologists have to deal with ethical problems wherever they work. Therefore, they go to great lengths to make sure their participants are comfortable and happy.

As mentioned previously, I made sure that the participants were made aware of what this study entails, as well as any risks or benefits anticipated, should they agree to partake in the study. They were given full identification and contact numbers of the researcher, as well as the supervisor. Furthermore, participants were made aware that participating in this study is totally voluntary, and should they wish to withdraw from the study they could do so without any negative repercussions. I also made sure not to force them physically or psychologically into agreeing to partake in the study.

Furthermore, it is of utmost importance to promise participants privacy and confidentiality, therefore for the purpose of this study pseudonyms were used. Christians (2000) states that providing participants the assurance that their identities, as well as research location, will be protected is non-negotiable. Hollway and Jefferson (2000) argues that even though one disguise information it does not guarantee that details will not be recognized. According to Christians (2000, p. 140), when there is no agreement with regard to what will be kept private or what will be made public, concealing privacy protection is then essentially pointless. Hollway and Jefferson (2000) expressed that it might be futile to keep secrecy, because the character of the materials that are being studied are unique and recognizable. During the time I asked for consent from participants I made sure to inform them that I will make every effort to be sensitive regarding their privacy, however I could not guarantee anonymity. All of the participants conveyed the impression that they

understood.

To conclude, Christians (2000, p. 139) suggests that the ethical codes be used as guidance before embarking on the research and should not interfere on complete cooperation. The results and discussion will now be detailed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

In this chapter the outcomes and meanings of the thematic content analysis will now be discussed. The chapter will provide a report regarding the findings of this research project, as well as discuss the important themes, that came to light during the research process. The important themes will all center on black and coloured South Africans and how they construct their national identity in a homogeneous country such as South Korea. Furthermore, this study will also give an insight as to how South Africa's tumultuous history still plays a crucial part in how the story of race becomes told by South Africans living in South Korea. It is important to mention that the researcher's voice are by no means silent, and that the themes highlighted in this study should not be considered as a comprehensive report on how black and coloured South Africans construct their national identity.

As mentioned numerous times throughout the study, South African national identity is constantly changing and never fixed. The reason for this is that as individuals we are always in constant interaction with one another, and through this interaction we construct new identities. This research indicated that South Africa's politics of oppression still plays a major role in how coloured and black people construct their racial identity and in turn national identity, even 23 years into democracy. Therefore, this study gives the reader an insight as to how black and coloured people are still trying to reconcile with the idea of an all-inclusive South African national identity.

Difficulty with the notion of constructing a collective South African national identity

Before moving forward with the analysis and discussion of the findings, it is imperative to once again point out that identities are not rigid, instead they are molded by various factors such as for

example family, peers, social and work environments to name but a few (Goossens & Phinney, 1996). The findings clearly indicated that given the tumultuous history of South Africa, the past is undoubtedly a difficult resource regarding accounts pertaining to South African national identity. When black and coloured participants were asked what they thought constitutes a South African national identity, the research indicated that there were a significant span of opinions regarding national identity. From the interviews it was evident that some respondents demonstrated a very weak connection to their national identity, especially coloured participants, as they perceive it be a fact of life that adds no special significance to their lives. Kelly, Michael and Chrystal admitted that they did not give much thought to their national identity, as clearly indicated in their accounts below:

Extract 1

Kelly: How do I answer this question? (Pause). I was born in South Africa; uh... does that not automatically give me my national identity? (Sigh) I have not really paid much attention to my national identity... (Coloured Participant).

Extract 2

Michael: If you are born in South Africa you have a South African identity (Coloured Participant).

Chrystal: I agree, I am South African it is a fact. I see everyone as individuals rather than a nation (Coloured Participant).

From the above extracts and throughout the interview, it became evident that because the narratives regarding national identity of some of the participants were so sparse, it indicated that although South Africans were cognizant of their national membership at times it was difficult for them to describe what meaning they attached to it. Kelly and Michael like so many other South

Africans, gave the generic answer regarding their understanding of national identity. The aforementioned is clearly indicated in Michael's response in Extract 2 "If you are born in South Africa you have a South African identity". In a sense Michael and Kelly are minimizing the concept of national identity because national identity, let alone South African national identity, is not something they think about or value but instead they accept it as a given. Chrystal's definition of a national identity in Extract 2 is rather interesting, as she points out that she sees "everyone as individuals rather than a nation". This could imply that she is distancing herself from the notion of a South African national identity in order to protect her individualism. Thus, the impression Chrystal gives is that the idea of her having a South African national identity remains a hugely abstract phenomenon.

However, I also found that as the interview went on national identity for some of the participants' formed an integral part of themselves, it was not questioned nor absent.

Extract 3

Mpho: It is difficult to explain...it's like a lot of cultures come together and that makes us unique...it gives us our identity. It is like we are one big dysfunctional family that actually works (laughs) (Black Participant).

Extract 4

Buyiswa: I was born in South Africa. I am South African. My South African identity is important to me even though I don't think about it a lot (Black Participant).

Extract 5

Janine: Living in Korea as a minority and by minority I mean as South Africans immediately came together. It is a nice feeling... because we share a common bond. Even though we are so different together we make so much sense. I have

never felt so secure and at home with a group of friends in my life. So I think the fact that we are South African, in itself should give us our national identity (Coloured Participant).

Bechhofer and McCrone (2010) recognizes the implicit of South African national identity, because they perceive national identity not to be like any other forms of social identity. According to Bechhofer and McCrone (2010), the reason for this is because national identity is affiliated to citizenship to some extent, or the feeling that one is part of a nation. Therefore, identity is considered an inseparable part of an individual's being (Bechhofer & McCrone, 2008). The aforementioned is reflected in the accounts of Buyiswa, Mpho and Janine who clearly indicated that they did not seem to question their national identity, because they accept it as an integral part of their lives. In essence their 'South Africanness' defined them regardless of their race.

Mpho in Extract 3 refers to South Africans as "...one big dysfunctional family that actually works", suggesting that we embrace our diversity and that we are all regardless of our race included in the notion of a collective 'family'. Therefore, Mpho's sentiment seems to suggest that he has a romanticized notion of an all-inclusive South African national identity. Furthermore, Mpho's sentiment implies that even though South Africa is a country flawed, the fact that South Africans are actually a family albeit fractured, there is still hope for unity amidst the differences. In other words, within the notion of a 'family' is where South Africa's redemption lies. For Janine in Extract 5, being a minority in South Korea brings up a sense of familiarity. Janine values the fact that not only do they share a common bond as black and coloured South Africans in South Korea, they also share a common bond as citizens of South Africa. The aforementioned is implied in her statement, "...because we share a common bond...So I think the fact that we are South African, in itself, should give us our national identity". However, Janine's sentiment begs the question: Why do we as South Africans feel a sense of inclusivity (despite our race) in South Korea, yet we treat

each other as strangers in our own country?

According to Billig (1995), the sense of self and place for many people are created through regular practice and are therefore characterized in national terms. For some of the participants the knowledge of being South African regardless of race, acted as proof of stability and emotional security. Michael Skey (2010, p. 176) refers to this sense of belonging as ‘ontological security’. This ontological security for a few participants stems from a strong grounded national-definition, thus their sense of belonging which is being South African citizens are filled with a sense of familiarity and security.

Extract 6

Vusi: I am proudly South African. I will always be South African, because I was born in South Africa and this is what I know (Black Participant).

Extract 7

Dugald: As South Africans we communicate in a very unique way. It's a, uhm...kind of slang. Like for example we would normally greet each other with a 'howzit'. It is a common expression among us (Coloured Participant).

Kelly: I agree with Dugald, because as South Africans with all our different cultures...we can laugh at each other, we just have THAT sort of understanding... (Coloured Participant).

Interviewee: Can you elaborate a little more please? What do mean when you say that you are able to laugh at each, based on a certain understanding?

Kelly: Well...for example, black people would often laugh at the Cape Coloured accent. When they see a coloured person they would sometimes immediately greet us with 'aweh my brue'. And as coloureds we would often joke with black people

about their accents. We don't find it offense...well the majority don't...We get each other. It's a South African thing.

Extract 8

Mpho: When you think of South Africa you think of braai and rugby. We braai on a Friday and Saturday, it is a tradition in the townships. When we braai we become one there is no race we are just South Africans (Black Participant).

The above accounts of the participants are a clear indication that their 'national identity' gave them some form of stability. Thus, recognizing the significance of wanting to belong pointed out the participants' need to want to identify with a larger group. Often times it is the connection with their place of birth, in other words the nation they belong to, that give people the security because they feel a sense of identity which is clearly indicated in Vusi's response in Extract 6, "I am proudly South African. I will always be South African, because I was born in South Africa and this is what I know". However, pride is a powerful emotion because it is at the heart of nationalism and patriotism. Given South Africa's history the reality of national identity is a concept that is foreign to most, in that it is unrealistic to think that people should just set aside their differences. Therefore, Vusi's statement about being 'Proudly South African' is fraught with complexities. Just like Vusi, many South Africans feel that when they partake in what is perceived as 'typical' South African cultural activities post-apartheid, they experience a feeling of pride. However, it begs the question whether we use 'Proudly South African' to sound less racially prejudiced, because in essence 'Proudly South African' appeals to the idea of South African pride.

In keeping with the democratic government's notion of a rainbow nation, Dugald and Mpho in Extracts 7 and 8 respectively, promotes this idea of South Africans sharing one culture in order to draw non-racial, non-ethnic boundaries that implies South Africa is a unified nation. In other words, implying that South Africans are united in their diversity. An example of the

aforementioned is reflected in Mpho's sentiment in Extract 8 "When we braai we become one there is no race we are just South Africans", indicating the idea of a shared culture regardless of race. Thus, Dugald and Mpho's accounts suggests that they construct the South African people as people that no longer holds on to racism. In addition, Kelly's response in Extract 7 reflects how the notion of non-racialism exists in the lives of South Africans, where coloured and black people can laugh and joke about their race. Thus, Kelly portrays race in a positive light in that race has become a binding force and is not just something that is synonymous with bringing divide amongst people, especially a diverse country with a tumultuous history such as South Africa. For Kelly the fact that South Africa is culturally diverse is not a stumbling block, instead it serves as a source of strength which is implied when she says, "we can laugh at each other, we just have THAT sort of understanding..." Throughout the interview the participants tended to make vague statements with regard to how they understand South African national identity. Regarding a shared national identity, it became clear that other than rugby (which is very debatable, given the fact that most coloured people support the All Blacks), braai and Nelson Mandela there are not much that bonds South Africans together.

Participants were then asked whether they thought a single South African identity existed, and whether it is even possible to have an all-inclusive national identity:

Extract 9

Craig: South Africa is a diverse country...I don't think that it is possible to have a single national identity. Also South Africa has such a complicated history...the fact that racism still exists in South Africa makes it impossible to have an all- inclusive national identity (Coloured Participant).

Extract 10

Dugald: Umh...I don't think that it is possible with eleven languages and our different

cultures. I do feel that when living abroad especially here in Korea we tend to feel a bond as South Africans because we are different, but as far as having an all-inclusive national identity... no that is not possible (Coloured Participant).

Extract 11

Michelle: No! It is impossible to have an all-inclusive identity because our country is built on creating division (Coloured Participant).

Interviewee: Can you elaborate?

Michelle: If you create division, you maintain power. That is exactly what the ANC does (Coloured Participant).

Throughout the interview based on the accounts of the participants, it became evident that finding an effective way regarding dealing with the past when it comes to an all-inclusive national identity is still a worry in post-apartheid South Africa. Thus, to define a South African identity let alone the possibility of South Africa having an all-inclusive identity is difficult. Anthony D Smith one of the founders of nationalism studies wrote in his book *Nationalism* (2001), that a nation needs to have a common language mentality, culture and political development, symbols and an ideology, in order for the nation to have a secure feeling of national identity. Anthony (2001) claims that even though South Africa seem to have almost all that qualities because it is a country that is known for its complex history, it will always have a complex identity. The aforementioned statement is clearly indicated in the narratives of the respondents. Dugald in Extract 10 statement that in South Korea as South Africans we feel closer because we are ‘different’ is quite interesting. However, Dugald does realize that despite the inclusive feeling we experience as the ‘other’ in South Korea, it is that difference that stands in the way of an all-inclusive national identity back in South Africa.

Even though apartheid has been eradicated the psychological, as well as, the social and geographic components of apartheid still have a huge influence on the daily lives of South Africans and their general outlook. The reality is that differences is very much embedded into the fabric of South African society, thus it might be beneficial for South Africans to embrace and celebrate these differences first and become united through the differences later.

The illusion of South Africa as a rainbow nation

Bornam (2006) writes that the notion of South Africa as a rainbow nation after the 1994 democratic elections became in many ways the symbol for peace and reconciliation for many South Africans. The idea behind the metaphor of the rainbow nation is aimed at sketching a picture of different racial groups in South Africa that are living harmoniously and united in a colourblind society. Thus, one cannot dispute the fact that the idea of South Africa as a rainbow nation has played an important part with regard to the transitioning phase into the new democratic regime. According to Franchi and Swart (2003), the purpose of the new dispensation was to provide different and unique identity prospects predicated on the acknowledgement and cancellation of prior discrimination. Furthermore, to construct a belief of national solidarity that incorporates designated differences that was socially constructed into an important and respected national identity image. However, because South Africa is a nation that is still recognized for its controversial and tumultuous history one can argue that South African identities are still tainted by a racialized past that was built on separateness, and thus this idea of a rainbow nation can be considered an illusion. Furthermore, the idea of the rainbow nation narrative does not seem to take into consideration that in South Africa racism is still very prevalent:

Extract 12

Craig: I once read that racism is considered to be the pigment of your imagination.

But to be honest with you I see racism rearing its ugly head more often than not

(Coloured Participant).

Interviewee: Can you elaborate more?

Craig: Well the ideology of South Africa as a rainbow nation has been basically forced down our throats. However it feels like South Africa represents two perspectives ...either white or black. Coloured people are not represented.

Extract 13

Janine: We don't have a South African identity because we will always be different. I wish that people would not see colour but yeah...Our past haunts us...It will always haunt us (Coloured Participant).

Interviewer: What do you mean by that?

Janine: It's like...people still see colour...like for example affirmative action right. It is supposed to right the wrongs of the past. But who benefits? Mostly the black people, we as coloureds don't really benefit. So in South Africa ultimately it is only about the whites and the blacks. As coloureds we don't really matter... so...yeah (Coloured Participant).

Extract 14

Mpho: I don't think South Africa has an identity because the only identity we have is that of Apartheid. We don't have an authentic South African identity because you will always see the different races separate themselves from each other in South Africa. Like the whites on one side the coloureds on the other and then us (Black Participant).

Wendy: I agree with Mpho, because our colour will always define us. Our 'colour'

identity trumps our national identity (Black Participant).

Extract 15

Dugald: Race matters, whether you are in South Africa or South Korea it matters.

People always see colour first. Your colour becomes your identity. It is sad that some people can't move beyond the colour issue and just embrace being South African (Coloured Participant).

According to Durrheim (2010), various studies have indicated that minorities (referring to Coloured, Indian and White South Africans in this context) in South Africa take issue with affirmative action measures. The aforementioned is clearly indicated in Janine (Extract 13), as well as Craig's (Extract 12) accounts. Both participants' narratives become personalized, in that they make race and skin colour apparent and thus defining their own sense of exclusion. For Janine and Craig South Africa signifies a nation that exclude people based on the colour of their skin. South Africa is a diverse country. However, from Mpho's sentiment in Extract 14 "I don't think South Africa has an identity because the only identity we have is that of Apartheid", it is evident that there is a contradiction in the notion of a rainbow nation in that there is no solidarity in heterogeneity. Thus, implying that the South African people do not have a lot in common. Mpho's account also correlates with Janine and Craig's sentiments of a nation excluding certain groups based on the colour of their skin.

From the interview it was also evident that racial differences are still central to identity, which seems to imply that racialized ideologies of the old dispensation still have an influence on, and shapes racialized identities in the new dispensation. An example of the aforementioned is reflected in Dugald's account in Extract 15, "It is sad that some people can't move beyond the colour issue and just embrace being South African". Walker (2005) writes that what is ironic is the fact that one must first be cognizant and take into consideration race, in order to be colourblind. Even though

the participants do not explicitly state that they do not ‘see’ colour it is implied, for example in Janine’s account in Extract 13 “I wish that people would not see colour but yeah...”. According to critical race theory, when one claims to be colourblind it is possibly a means of subconsciously distancing oneself from an uncomfortable action or conviction (DeCuir & Dixon, 2004). Dugald’s sentiment in Extract 15 “It is sad that some people can’t move beyond the colour issue and just embrace being South African”, suggests that he is trying to project all socially offensive actions, convictions and discrimination away from himself in order to maintain a self-image that is positive (van Djik, 1997). To conclude, it was evident that during the interview black and coloured participants had a tendency to draw racialized boundaries between their respective communities. Therefore, suggesting that racialized boundaries are still embedded in the very fabric of South African society, as reflected in Mpho’s sentiment in Extract 14 “We don’t have an authentic South African identity because you will always see the different races separate themselves from each other in South Africa. Like the whites on one side the coloureds on the other and then us”.

National identity: managing the problem

As mentioned previously, South Africa is known for its complex and controversial identity. Thus, it begs the question as to how one can manage the problem regarding national identity. Research conducted by Delany, Durrheim and Gray (2005) regarding the dilemma of nationalism, showed that how by identifying and disidentifying with the national category at different phases, participants manages their dilemma with regard to nationalism. The findings found in Delany et al. (2005) applies to this research as well. According to Delany et al. (2005):

Three distancing strategies were used by the participants to resolve their dilemma of nationalism. The first involves moving away from the idea of a collective nation to the personal, the second splits the nation into individual cultures, and the third involves denying the existence of the nation altogether.

During the interview one participant used her position as a parent as a means of removing herself

from the idea of being nationally grouped.

Extract 16

Berenice: I do not feel like South Africa is my home anymore. My home is with my husband and our baby. Next year, after our contract ends in Korea we will be heading to America. My husband is American. I am a mother and my baby comes first. I have to think of her future you know ... I will miss my family but I can always go visit (Coloured Participant).

From the above extract it is evident that Berenice is distancing herself from the collective, in other words being a South African. Berenice instead focuses on her role as a parent, which suggests that being a parent trumps whatever national category might exist. This resolves the dilemma of Berenice's narrative in that she is trying to ease any guilt she might have for sounding unpatriotic, because her family is more important and take precedence over whatever her feelings might be regarding South Africa (Delany et al., 2005).

Another participant uses the second distancing strategy where she "divides the nation into cultural and racial groups" (Delany et al., 2005):

Extract 17

Michelle: Being coloured I always feel like I don't belong you know....I am not white enough and I am not black enough. Our country will never change (sigh). I feel more comfortable in Korea as a coloured because at least here I feel more South African than back home. In Korea we are seen as the "other" so we as South Africans have to come together regardless of race (Coloured Participant).

Michelle's narrative indicates coloured people's in-between status in South Africa, as she separate

the country into cultural groups and racial groups. Furthermore, Michelle's sentiment "Our country will never change (sigh)" suggests that for her there is no hope for an all-inclusive national identity, because coloured people will always be excluded and 'othered'. Brown (quoted in Delany et al., 2005) argues that South Africa's diversity is what unites them as a country, the problem lies in how to accommodate the demands of differences, as well as the demands of belonging. When the different racial groups in South Africa is constantly pointed out, it begs the question as to whether South Africa is truly a unified nation.

Extract 18

Janine: There are so many different races in South Africa. We are a diverse country. I cannot see us having a South African identity. I think that our past will always linger and taint any chance of us actually having an identity. (Coloured Participant).

From the above mentioned extract, Janine dismisses the notion of a South African identity all together. This form of distancing is an assertion that the national category does not exist (Delany et al., 2005). Furthermore, it is evident that for Janine being "South African" is not an easy reality for her, and arguably many South Africans to grasp. Her reasoning is that as South Africans we are so different and because the aftermath of Apartheid still lingers, it taints the notion of a collective national identity.

South Africans in South Korea: The question of patriotism and national pride

In democratic South Africa the concept of nationalism is normally associated with the idea of unity and racial tolerance. Connell (2013) wrote that after the democratic elections of 1994 many South Africans, predominantly white South Africans, left the country at an alarming rate because they feared the new dispensation. These individuals were characterized as traitors by some family

members and friends. Given South Africa's tainted past, participants were asked what their understanding were regarding patriotism and whether they felt any guilt for leaving the country. Furthermore, they were confronted with the question of national pride, in other words whether they were proud to be a South African:

Extract 19

Janine: I envy my Korean and American friends for being so patriotic but I just do not feel the same way about South Africa (sigh). Look... South Africa is a beautiful country but at its core it is rotten. I miss my family and my friends. I do feel a little guilty for leaving them behind. And a little guilty for being so negative about South Africa...but ja I feel like there is no future for me in South Africa unless I am black (Coloured Participant).

Craig: I agree with Janine. If you know that you will be able to find a job in your country based on your qualifications, there is no need to go elsewhere for work. I don't mean to be racist but affirmative action only benefit black people in South Africa. Affirmative action for me tells me that because I am not African I am not SOUTH AFRICAN. So why should I really feel guilty for leaving South Africa? (Coloured Participant).

Extract 20

Kelly: I do not see myself living in South Africa anymore. I do miss my family and friends but I just do not see a future for myself in South Africa. That does not mean that I do not love South Africa, I did grow up there... I just feel like black people get favored and if you are not black or white then you are at the bottom of the totem pole. I am not racist I am just realistic (Coloured Participant).

Extract 21

Berenice: I can't say that I am proud to be a South African. I wouldn't say I am not patriotic, but...With everything happening in South Africa ...crime.....the economy ...it is hard to be proud (Coloured Participant).

Extract 22

Dugald: Many Koreans do not even want to come to South Africa because of what they see on TV. They think South Africa IS AFRICA. They always ask me about the crime in South Africa too. I can't lie I do not blame them for not wanting to come to South Africa, because the way the country is now...(pause) I love our country it is my home. But I do not know...at the moment I am not proud of how things are going in South Africa....Don't get me wrong, like I said I still love South Africa and I think people still tend to underestimate South Africa, they always think the worst of us...(Coloured Participant).

Extract 23

Buyiswa: I think there are different meanings of proud and I think that starts when we separate politics from culture. South Africa is a beautiful country with so much to offer...we should stop looking back and start moving forward (Black Participant).

Vusi: Well...I am proud to be South African. We are free...we have more opportunities than in the past. We have the opportunity to study to go overseas come back and help our country. I am also proud to say that our country is developing (Black Participant).

Wendy: I am proud to a certain extent (Black Participant

Interviewer: Can you elaborate?

Wendy: Well...I am proud of how far we have come as a country after apartheid.

However, I am not proud of the way the country is being run nowadays...

People in South Africa tend to deviate from the rainbow repertoire, because when it comes to the topic of transformation they have a hard time consolidating the political changes of growth with that of the socio-economic policies that should acknowledge racialized injustices. This is reflected in the above accounts of the coloured participants, who differ from the black participants about patriotism and in turn national pride. The coloured participants construct the opposite idea of a rainbow nation in that there is no unity diversity, which is reflected in Craig's sentiment in Extract 19, albeit not explicitly stated but definitely implied, "Affirmative action for me tells me that because I am not African I am not SOUTH AFRICAN. So why should I really feel guilty for leaving South Africa?" Furthermore, for Janine, Craig and Kelly affirmative action becomes the source for their exclusion and thus subconsciously gives them a valid reason for not being patriotic, or for that matter have a strong sense of national pride. What is implied in the accounts of Janine, Kelly and Craig is that affirmative action is maintaining institutionalized discrimination, but what is ironic is that the roles are reversed and coloured people are still not acknowledged for the injustices inflicted upon them during apartheid. Thus, it could be the reason why according to Degenaar (quoted in Gray et al., 2005), "...the Coloured's and the Indians have no particularistic nationalism or nationalism of the people as exemplified so clearly in the Afrikaner people".

Craig and Kelly seem to be aware that the statements they are about to make regarding affirmative action, might be controversial and definitely deviate from the notion of a unified rainbow nation. Furthermore, they recognize that criticism towards affirmative action might be

perceived as not being committed to the new South Africa and that they could be considered as racists. Kelly's sentiment in Extract 20 "I am not racist I am just realistic", as well as Craig's sentiment in Extract 19 "I don't mean to be racist...", indicate that they understand that their disapproval regarding affirmative action might be interpreted as being offensive and racist. Therefore, it is clear that both participants are adjusting their accounts in a manner that does not come off as too offensive towards the black participants in the study, as well as towards the non-present public. Furthermore, Craig is defending his disapproval with regard to affirmative action, because for him people should be employed based upon their qualification and not based upon the colour of their skin. Thus, Craig's account suggests that he is defending the coloured minority who emigrated or have plans of emigrating, because of possible feelings of exclusion indicated in his sentiment in Extract 19, "Affirmative action for me tells me that because I am not African I am not SOUTH AFRICAN. So why should I really feel guilty for leaving South Africa?" However, what is interesting is that the accounts of Buyiswa and Wendy seems to suggest that they are trying to appeal to their community, that is the black community, to leave the past behind. The aforementioned is clearly indicated in Buysiswa's sentiment in Extract 23 "South Africa is a beautiful country with so much to offer...we should stop looking back and start moving forward". Even though Buyiswa and Wendy benefit from affirmative action because of the colour of their skin, they display opposition towards the policy. Dixon, Durrheim and Tredoux (2007) writes that black individuals who communicate with their white peers on a regular basis tend to disapprove of policies aimed at righting the wrongs done in the past, like for example a policy such as affirmative action.

Crime is another topic that deviates from the rainbow nation narrative, because when people in South Africa speak out against crime they get criticized for not being patriotic. For example, Berenice and Dugald brings up the issue of crime which taints the image South Africa is trying to

create. This romanticized idea of a rainbow nation that fills the people of South Africa with pride, because they are living in harmony with one another amidst their differences. Furthermore, Dugald realizes that his disapproval regarding the crime in South Africa might come off as not being patriotic. Thus, it becomes evident that he backtracks a little to save face, in other words he is trying not to come off as being racist when he states in Extract 22, “Don’t get me wrong, like I said I still love South Africa and I think people still tend to underestimate South Africa, they always think the worst of us...”.

Furthermore, from the above extracts it is evident that pride can be viewed in different ways. For the black participants the view of national pride is far more flexible in comparison with the coloured participants view on national pride. The coloured participants for example, are more aware of the scrutiny from other countries implied in Dugald’s sentiment in Extract 22 “Many Koreans do not even want to come to South Africa because of what they see on TV”. The black participants on the other hand are proud of the progress South Africa has made post-apartheid, clearly indicated in Vusi’s sentiment in Extract 23 “I am also proud to say that our country is developing”. Thus, South African national identity and how coloured and blacks define their identity (especially when they find themselves in a country other than south Africa), in other words the pride they have for their country, are very much connected and poses a unique problem for South Africans.

According to Mummendey, Klink and Brown (2001), social identity theory claims that people like to have a positive view about themselves, but also the group to which they belong. Citizens of a particular nation wants to be regarded in a positive light by the other nations. When a strong positive in-group identification is fostered then it leads to a strong sense of national identity. However, as discussed previously, because of South Africa’s complicated history South Africans especially people of colour, tend to have a difficult time expressing national pride which in turn

makes it even more difficult for South Africa to form a positive national identity. Throughout the discussion it was evident that some participants (especially coloured participants) were more negative than others, regarding their national identity or pride they take in being South African. Due to the fact that there is a lack of communication amongst coloured and black people regarding national identity, this might be the first time that they have dealt with this issue without being silenced. It is also important to take into consideration that the discussion might have helped them to have a more positive attitude towards South Africa, and not just focus on the negative aspects.

Ascribing meaning to racial identities in South Korea

Regarding the construction of identity according to Tappan (2005, p. 35), it is a process that “occurs in shared social context, mediated by many different words, voices and forms of discourse”. Janet Helms (1990, p. 3) defined racial identity as:

a sense of group or collective identity based one’s perception that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group...racial identity development theory concerns the psychological implications of racial-group membership, is belief systems that evolve in reaction to perceived differential racial-group membership.

Throughout the interview both black and coloured participants attached a negative meaning to their racial identity, which can be linked to South Africa’s apartheid history. During the interview it became very apparent that being labelled as a person of colour brought with it a sense of inferiority and shame, but also the need to establish a new positive identity.

Black in homogenous South Korea

Black participants described their racial identity in South Korea riddled with difficulties. It is a struggle being accepted as equal to their white and even coloured counterparts. Garner (2007) writes that because whiteness in many respects are perceived as superior and blackness

constructed as its exact opposite, in other words inferior, it strengthens the idea of whiteness being the master signifier. It was very evident that black people had similar experiences of judgement in Korea than in South Africa. The aforementioned is clearly indicated in Vusi, Buyiswa and Mpho's accounts below:

Extract 24

Vusi: Being a foreigner in Korea, it is inevitable that you will experience racism.

However being black comes with loads of difficulties. Black people are regarded as lower than other races. In Korea black people are considered unintelligent and poor and not suitable teachers for Korean children. I really thought that being in Seoul would detract from my "blackness" because there are so many foreigners here, however I get stared at in such a way that I start feeling guilty for something I did not do (laughs).

Interviewee: Can you elaborate?

Vusi: Well on television we are portrayed as gangsters, murderers, poor and unintelligent. It is no wonder really that Koreans would discriminate against us. They are very ignorant (pause)....like say one black person does something wrong, especially the African American soldiers stationed in Korea who tend to get a bit disrespectful, then all black people fall under that 'wrongdoing'.

Mpho: I agree (laughs). I feel guilty being black. Koreans have a preconceived notion of black people. They judge us based on how we are portrayed on television, regardless of the country you come from. To them black is black.

Vusi: (Laughs) Sooo true! You know I actually had some of my Korean friends tell me that they like me because I am not like OTHER black people. I am nice and

educated...Can you believe it! (Sounds annoyed).

Buyiswa: Ya... that is why if your skin happens to be dark... then Korea, or anywhere outside of your comfort zone really, may not be the best place for you.

Interviewer; Can you elaborate a little more?

Buyiswa: Well I work at a hagwon in Seoul and I face constant criticism with regard to my appearance. It has come to a point that I am seriously considering leaving and going back to South Africa.

Mpho: I can relate with Buiyswa, because like I said I really feel black in South Korea. My school was not very welcoming towards me, and during lunch and especially during teacher dinners no one interacted with me. I know there is a language barrier but most of them know enough English to have a conversation with me. I initially thought it was because I was a foreigner however after speaking to my white and coloured friends they did not seem to have the same issue.

Buyiswa, Mpho and Vusi's accounts are also validated in the account of a Korean English Teacher who states:

Extract 25

Koreans seem to favor 'white' people more than 'black' people. I don't know why it is very wrong of them, but it is just the way it is. I guess it may be related to the US military presence in Korea. Also...white people are considered to be better teachers, because they seem more educated to Koreans...

The above accounts of Buyiswa, Vusi and Mpho in Extract 24 suggests that just like in South Africa, in South Korea being black means that you are part of the collective. In other words, if

one black person does something wrong than ‘all black people’ fall under that collective as indicated in Vusi’s account, “...like say one black person does something wrong, especially the African American soldiers stationed in Korea who tend to get a bit disrespectful, then all black people fall under that ‘wrongdoing’”. Thus, being part of the collective bears the burden of responsibility and in turn affects the psyche of the black individual, for example both Vusi and Mpho stated that they started feeling guilty for something they did not do. Vusi’s sentiment “You know I actually had some of my Korean friends tell me that they like me because I am not like OTHER black people”, suggests that he has been singled out as the one black person that is different and the rest of his community is inferior compared to him as an individual. In other words, Vusi understands that his inclusion, the fact that he is liked by his Korean friends, is based on his ability to cast off possible stereotypes that Koreans have regarding his race. The aforementioned is evidence of how even ‘fitting in’ can be experienced as racism. The participants were also very much aware that being stereotyped impacts an individual beyond just feeling bad about oneself. The aforementioned is evident in Buyiswa’s feeling about wanting to go home due to the fact that she is constantly judged on her appearance, which implies that she feels drained from the judgements and the negative preconceived notions about black people.

According to Bloom (1996), apartheid was very good at slandering black South Africans which resulted in many of them feeling a sense of humiliation and wariness because of the blackness. It was clearly evident from the extracts that the predominant accounts of blackness and black identity which is also characteristics of apartheid, were mirrored by the participants in South Korea. The aforementioned is reflected in the account of Mpho where he stated that, “I really feel black in South Korea”, as well as, Vusi’s account “I really thought that being in Seoul would detract from my blackness”. Mpho and Vusi’s accounts indicate that how black identity was constructed still taints perceptions regarding blackness, not only in post-apartheid South Africa,

but also all over the world.

Buyiswa and Mpho also expressed frustration that they are defined based on their African identity.

Extract 26

Buyiswa: When I applied for a job at another hagwon recently after my contract ended I got rejected because I was black. The recruiter emailed me and said that he is sorry he just found out that the school I applied for does not hire black people. It angers me because I feel that the students need to learn that the western culture is made up of a diverse group of people.

Mpho: I am tired of my skin colour defining who I am and what I stand for. I am not just my colour. I am educated ...I have dreams I have goals.

One of the Korean recruiters informed me that over 70 percent of ‘hagwons’ (private academies) he works with prefers white applicants over black applicants, and that when he does find a spot for a black applicant it is usually located in the rural areas. The reason many schools are not keen on employing black teachers are due to the fact that they face constant pressure from the parents not to hire black teachers. They fear that they might lose students and in turn be out of business. What Mpho, Buyiswa, as well as, the Korean recruiter show is that racism is ingrained in blackness and that black people encounter racism basically on a daily basis regardless of where they live.

Coloured in homogenous South Korea

Coloured participants reported an almost similar, yet slightly different experience than that of their black peers with regard to their racial identities. It was evident throughout the interview that coloured people struggled to define their identity, in that they implied albeit not explicitly stated, that South African politics played a role in how they explained their racial identity.

Extract 27

Michelle: I am not white, I am not black... That is confusing to many Koreans. In all honesty I do not know how to define coloured (sigh) it is not like we really matter...it's always about the black and white people in South Africa. Do we even have an identity?

Kelly: I agree with Michelle. It is difficult to explain my race to Koreans. They do not seem to understand the concept of coloured. South Africa is Africa to them...everyone is black. And when they find out that we are actually a diverse country, they can't grasp the fact that I am not considered black. But then again sometimes when we are 'needed' for political gain we are considered black.... (laughs).

Extract 28

Janine: I always feel this need to correct people when they think I am black...especially Americans because many of them think that in South Africa I would be considered black. I am coloured end of story.

Extract 29

Berenice: When people ask me where I am from, my initial response is Cape Town. I don't automatically say South Africa, I think it is because I don't see myself living in South Africa again...I mean Cape Town is where I was born Cape Town is my home, it is where the majority of coloured people are, but I just don't feel like South Africa (emphasis placed on South Africa) is my home anymore.

Michelle and Kelly's account in Extract 27 implies that they are hesitant with regard to defining themselves as South Africans, because they do not feel like they truly belong in South Africa.

Kelly's laughter suggests that she is masking her disapproval, and what could be considered racist remark, with regard to coloured people's precarious position in South Africa. Erasmus (2001) writes that the feeling minorities have of not belonging is generally connected to colonialism and racism. However, from Janine's account in Extract 28, it is evident that she clings to her coloured identity as a means to validate the lived experience of coloured people in South Africa. In addition, Berenice seems to take a different approach with regard to defining her identity in that she assigns her identity to a particular place (Cape Town) where she was born and can be inferred where she had her primary lived experience. Berenice's sentiment in Extract 29, suggests that for her the fact that she was born and grew up in a certain racialized area (Cape Town) defines her ethnic identity.

The participants also compared South Africa to South Korea, and while there were many differences, the striking similarity is the feeling of being ostracized because of the colour of their skin. One of the participants' Michelle reported that she tried to educate her students on different races, but that it was a futile endeavor due to the parents' influences.

Extract 30

Michelle: I try to educate my students...I tell them that, 'Curly hair is beautiful'; 'There are different kinds of hair; you are not dirty if you have curly hair'; 'People are not the same.' Then when they go home and tell the parents about the discussion, they reeducate the child and that to me is so frustrating.

Another participant Janine reported that sometimes she wished that she was white, and that she has gone through a phase where she completely rejected her racial identity as coloured. She thought that she had outgrown that.

Other themes that materialized

South Africans in South Korea: Meta -Stereotype

Vorauer, Main and O' Connell (1998, p. 917) writes that meta-stereotypes are defined as "a person's beliefs regarding the stereotype that out-group members hold about his or her own group". In Mpho, Vusi and Dugald's accounts below we see an example of a negative meta-stereotype that is not true and actually very hilarious. The idea of lions roaming about South Africa or the fact that South Africans, especially black South Africans, cannot speak English is so far-fetched, that the assumption was that any person with common sense would immediately think that a person that holds such view is ignorant.

Extract 33

Mpho: Koreans think that all people from South Africa are black. That we are poor and uneducated. And I always find it funny when they ask whether we can speak English. They really are very surprised when they find out that South African black people actually speak English (Black Participant)

Vusi: (Laughs) Koreans are so ignorant they really believe lions roam around freely. I usually act really serious when I tell my students that I live in a hut and that my father hunts for our food. They eat that that stuff up (Black Participant).

Dugald: I have to admit though I have a Korean friend that actually visited South Africa before and was really amazed at how different the reality was from what he expected (Coloured Participant).

When asked about their feelings regarding national identity and whether they think that South Africa is an extraordinary country Buyiswa and Craig responded:

Extract 34

Buyisiwa: South Africa is Africa to most people, especially in Korea, when I tell that I am from South Africa they immediately think Africa and with that comes the stereotype that I am poor. Koreans think that South Africa is just another part of Africa that is underdeveloped and poor. They do not realize that we actually support other countries quite a bit like for example Zimbabwe (Black Participant)

Extract 35

Craig: I think that South Africa is definitely an exceptional country. We have very talented people in South Africa. Like I know that people are leaving the country but that is because of the lack of job opportunities. I also think that national identity is difficult for some people to grasp, because they do not think that South Africa can compare to other countries like say America. People do look down on us (Coloured Participant)

It is important to notice how meta-stereotyping comes into play when the participants were asked a very general question regarding national identity. Craig in Extract 35 takes on this idea that what matters is economic progress and that nations are assessed based on their accomplishments. He also points out that Koreans, as well as other countries have a stereotypical derogatory image of Africa, in that Africa cannot live up to a first world countries standards. Thus, one can infer from Buyisiwa and Craig's accounts that meta-stereotypes are an important part of the narrative on national in-group identity.

Extract 36

Kelly: Ever since I started working in Korea I have never felt more South African. It is almost like you forget that you are coloured black or white. You just are South

African. (Coloured Participant).

Dugald: I agree with Kelly's statement. I feel more South African in Korea because I feel different. Not different in a bad way but like I can finally say this is my country South Africa and I am proud to be South African (Coloured Participant).

Extract 37

Craig: I think that being in Korea...Korea gave me my South African identity. I educate my students on South African culture. Before I think people did not even really know where Africa was, but now we have an opportunity to really put South Africa on the map (Coloured Participant).

From the above accounts, it is evident that the participants hint at the notion of others being a mirror for oneself. In a sense it is very similar to Du Bois' idea of 'double consciousness', "this sense of always looking at oneself through the eyes of Others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity" (Du Bois, 1903, p. 102).

Black and Coloured South Africans: Integrating into Korean culture

Both black and coloured participants expressed their desire to learn more about the culture and the customs of Korea. They also talked about the obstacles they experienced trying to integrate into Korean culture. For example, the inability to speak Korean is a huge obstacle even though it is not a good enough excuse not to immerse yourself into the local way of living. Also for black people it tends to be a little more difficult to integrate into Korean society, because they tend to get negative reactions from Koreans.

Extract 38

Dugald: Korean is a very difficult language to learn and there are times when I really miss speaking Afrikaans. I do try to make an effort to get through the language

barriers. However I am not really good at learning new languages (Coloured Participant).

Extract 39

Mpho: I really make an effort to engage with Korean people. Some are very friendly but I do get that occasional stares that borders on being just rude. One of my students even calls me 'Africa Teacher'. I have learned that to my students, the words volunteering and donating generally relates to images of starving people in Africa. Because they 'know' that everyone in Africa is poor (Black participant).

Even though black people generally tend to get discriminated against more than coloured people in Korea, participants felt that integration into Korean culture was quite a satisfying experience and they enjoyed learning about a new culture.

Extract 40

Berenice: I met my husband in Korea. As you know he is an American. We enjoy exploring Korea together. I really enjoy the freedom to be me in Korea compared to feeling restricted in South Africa...In Korea I can be coloured and just be.....in South Africa everything has to do with race...(Coloured Participant).

Buyiswa pointed out that how well you adjusted to Korean culture depended on the amount of time spend in Korea as well as one's personal attitude.

Extract 41

Buyiswa: I have seen many South Africans really embrace Korean culture. I think it has to do with how long people stay here. However it is not for me. I respect the

Korean culture and people but I am very much South African (Black Participant).

According to Mpho, the best way to integrate into Korean society depends on the local people.

Extract 42

Mpho: Usually one get an invitation from Korean people. That is only if they really like you. Mostly it would be coloured and white people that get invited to be honest. Black people do not generally get invited especially when they are from Africa. I think being invited to social gathering is a nice way to get acquainted with the locals (Black Participant).

Black and Coloured: Feeling like a foreigner

Even though black and coloured people have started feeling comfortable in Korean society, they do feel foreign and very different from the native population. When asked about their feeling while living abroad, especially in a homogenous country like South Korea, they admitted to feeling conscious of being different and not just different based on their race, but also different because they are South African.

Extract 43

Vusi: One do feel nervous in Korea especially being black because you are never quite attuned to the country. In South Africa I always know what is going on there, however in Korea you just never know... (Black Participant).

Extract 44

Dugald: In Korea you know that you are different especially based on your skin color. However when you tell Koreans you are from South Africa they automatically think you are poor and came to Korea because you cannot find work in South

Africa. When they think South Africa they think AFRICA...starving while flies roam around our eyes... you know the images portrayed on TV (Coloured Participant).

Craig, who has only been in Korea for 6 months shared his recollections about working in a hagwon (private academy) and being the only South African.

Extract 45

Craig: All my colleagues are from America. And I am the only South African at my hagwon. I get asked a lot about South Africa's way of life, my work and my family. It is weird how ignorant Americans still are. They are like the Koreans they believe everything portrayed on television. I felt responsible for the image I had to create when they asked me these questions. I had to control my answers. In that sense I of course stay South African (Coloured Participant).

Working with their other foreign colleague's, black and coloured people noticed that people from all walks of life have universal aspirations that directed their everyday way of doing things. Thus, it made them feel that regardless of the country that people come from, they are not that different from one another.

Extract 46

Mpho: I like to interact with people from all walks of life. I find that there are very similar patterns of behavior amongst us all (Black Participant).

For one participant having a sense of humor was something that made all people, regardless of race and gender, appreciate the fact that they are so alike rather than focusing on the fact that they are also different.

Extract 47

Berenice: I do not actually feel THAT foreign to be frank. I think that it is important to not take everything so serious... I rarely feel uncomfortable in Korea. But I think it is because I tend to be more open-minded (Coloured Participant).

It was evident though that the exposure of a foreign country did change the participants perceptions about life in general, compared to what they were before working abroad.

Extract 48

Janine: I feel like before I came to Korea I lived in a bubble, but now my outlook on life changed. I met new friends and I must admit I relate more with them because we have so much in common, whereas with friends and family back home I can't really relate as much anymore. Don't get me wrong I adore my family and friends back home, but I don't always know what to talk about when I go visit (Coloured Participant).

When one realizes that there are better ways of doing the same thing it does broaden one's horizons. When you have an internal experience it has an influence on your attitude and perceptions. This in turn causes you to realize that there are other better ways of doing things, but when it is not possible to adopt those changes in one's own country it causes dissatisfaction.

Extract 49

Berenice: I am not that attached to South Africa anymore. I can't see anything for me there anymore. Korea is a country that are developing at a fast pace. In South Africa we are always a step behind, like for example in our levels of education and healthcare. We just don't measure up to other countries (Coloured Participant).

From the interview it became evident that even though South African national identity is a rather controversial subject for many South Africans, both black and coloured participants did acknowledge that when they interacted with Koreans and other foreigners, they experienced a heightened sense of being South African. Furthermore, it was evident that for both black and coloured respondents in South Korea, being exposed to such a homogenous country there was a need to fit in as they are trying to determine and define their place in Korea as South African, but also as coloured and black individuals.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUDING REMARKS

Overview of important findings

Colonialism, as well as Apartheid, formed an unforgettable part of our political history and was responsible for horrible wrongdoings towards people of colour. During apartheid race was a construct that was not considered flexible. White people were regarded as superior while their black counterparts (which included coloured people) were the subordinates. The narrative of the rainbow nation post-apartheid were designed to celebrate racial reconciliation. Even though so many changes came into effect after 1994, apartheid's racialized patterns remained and therefore race continues to have an impact on the everyday lives of South Africans, especially black and coloured South Africans. This in turn effects the way South Africans construct their national identity to this day.

Given South Africa's tumultuous history, this study aimed to explore how black and coloured South Africans understood and constructed the notion of a collective national identity. Furthermore, because of apartheid's history how their story of race and national identity becomes told when they find themselves as a minority in a foreign country like South Korea. This study supported the notion that black and coloured identities, as well as how they construct their national identities, are complicated. The reason being that identities are in a constant state of flux and it is difficult to characterize a racial being in the new dispensation (Stevens & Lockhat, 1997). By studying the participants' discourse with regard to their understanding of their national belonging, it was evident that black and coloured individuals differ when constructing their national identity.

The study suggested that black and coloured people's identities were still thoroughly entrenched in the apartheid system, thus it affected how they constructed their national identity in South Korea. For example, coloured participants in particular had a tendency to allude back to the predominant

apartheid account regarding race when they had to think about their national identity. The reason being that in post-apartheid South Africa being black is an advantage, and as such the study found that coloured participants often demonstrated a weak connection to their national identity. Even though blackness is still being created by stories which makes blackness out to be inferior and regarded as the 'other', the black participants demonstrated a stronger connection to their national identity

Furthermore, the findings suggested that coloured participants did not seem to consider their national identity of high importance, because for them it formed an inseparable part of themselves. They also were not as positive regarding a collective national identity. They mentioned on several occasions that they did not really give much thought to their national identity, and thus for them it was difficult to articulate what it means to them given their in-between status in South Africa. However, national identity was viewed somewhat differently by the black participants. In contrast to their coloured counterparts they were more optimistic about their national identity, because it formed an integral part of who they were as a person. In addition, the study also found that coloured and black participants felt a particularly stronger connection to a South African identity in Korea. The reason being that in order for coloured and black individuals to determine as well as define their place in Korean society, they needed to feel a sense of belonging and identity. It appeared to be of importance for them, in their search for a sense of security.

The notion of national identity and nationalism is filled with contradictions and exclusionary tendencies. It begs the questions as to whether national identities in contemporary South Africa is still relevant. There are many fascinating evidence that suggests people's perceptions regarding what constitute national identity are essentially wrong. Even though it has been proven that as people we have a tendency to want to be associated with the inner circle, it does not mean that it has to be national. It can be argued that South Africa should consider promoting the building of

progressive identities. Furthermore, that people should not be made to believe in national identity instead they should be given the opportunity to choose other identities that are not so questionable.

Strengths and Weaknesses

This study's focus on national identity construction of people of colour living in a foreign country, has an important contribution to make to literature. As mentioned previously, identity is in constant state of flux. Therefore, studying identity and national identity construction is a valuable method with regard to exploring South Africa's political future and changes post-apartheid. The use of narratives is also an important strength as it is a helpful method to explore identities and other social constructs.

However, one of the limitations of this research was that the sample was fairly small. It would have been interesting to interview more black participants to give the research a more balanced perspective. Despite this limitation the information I gathered from all the respondents in this research is extremely valuable, as it invites on-going discussions with regard to identity and national identity constructions.

Suggestions for future research

Given the small sample size I would suggest that a bigger sample be drawn from various provinces in South Korea. This would provide a better understanding of how black and coloured individuals perceive race and racialized identities. Understanding one's national identity takes time and does not develop overnight. Therefore, I would recommend a longitudinal study because it could be very helpful for further studies on national identity. By interviewing the same participants, given the fact that some of them admitted they never thought about their national identity, we can expand our knowledge.

In conclusion, I would suggest that prospective research carry on exploring racialized identities in South Africa. The fact that identities are positioned within the vast sociocultural framework, gives the opportunity of exploring the present socio-political area at any given time. Therefore, by continuously studying the ramifications of identity it will be possible to trace the political changes as they take place in South Africa.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Participant Information Form

Dear Participant

My name is Candice Diergaardt, and I am conducting research with the objective of obtaining a Master's degree in Psychology at the University of Stellenbosch. The purpose of this study is to provide a better understanding of how black and coloured South Africans construct their national identity in a foreign country such as homogenous South Korea. This study will also aim to explore the complicated nature of South African national identities, with the focus on coloured and black identities, affected by both a history of racism and being out of the country. I shall be collecting a series of interviews outlining black and coloured experiences in South Korea as the 'other', and how South African people of colour construct their national identity in a foreign country. I would therefore like to invite you to participate in this study. The interview will be semi-structured and is planned to be about an hour long.

Your participation is totally voluntary, and should you choose to withdraw from the research you simply inform the researcher about your withdrawal from the study. There are no direct benefits to participating in this study, however your participation will contribute immensely to collection of primary data. Furthermore, no risks are foreseen as a result of participation. If at any time you feel uncomfortable with the questions asked, you may refrain from answering them. The interviews conducted will be recorded and transcribed, and then analyzed by the researcher. It will be used as primary evidence in the research process. A research thesis is expected to be submitted for examination in 2017 and there is a possibility of publication.

Your anonymity is of utmost importance, therefore your interview will be included into a database under a pseudonym and all means of identifying you will be removed. In other words except for the

researcher, no one else will know your identity. If you have any questions do not hesitate to ask. Again I would like to emphasize the fact that you may withdraw your interview from the database, without any prejudice, at any point in the future.

Regards,

Candice Diergaardt (Researcher)

Prof. D. Painter (Supervisor)

(candice.diergaardt@gmail.com)

dpainter@sun.ac.za

Appendix II: Participation consent form

1. I _____ confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet and had the opportunity to ask questions. (YES/NO)
2. I am fully aware that my participation is voluntary, and that if I choose to withdraw, I am free to do so at any time without reason. (YES/NO)
3. I agree to participate in this study. (YES/NO)

Signed:

Date:

Appendix III: Interview schedule

First and foremost I would like to thank you for participating in this study. As I mentioned to you previously, I am conducting my research on ‘race’ and national identity. I suppose that one of my biggest curiosities is around what it means to you to be black and coloured in a homogeneous country such as South Korea?

1. What do you think constitutes a South African national identity?
2. Do you think a single South African identity exists and is it even possible to have an all-inclusive identity?
3. Have you ever felt like your race defined you? And if so in what way?
4. How has your experience as a black person been in Korea, and is it any different than in South Africa?
5. How has your experience as a coloured person been in Korea and is it any different than in South Africa?
6. How do you understand your identity as a black/coloured person?

Before we conclude this interview I would like to ask a few more questions. What has it been like to talk about being black and coloured? Has it brought up any emotions and would you like to share?

Have you really spoken openly about your blackness and colouredness in this way?

How has it made you feel to open up about your experiences to fellow Coloured South African?

